

**From Rating to Officer:
Habitus clivé and other struggles associated with
promotion in the Royal Navy**

Sue Diamond

PhD Sociology

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‘Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other award’.

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the dilemmas of upward social mobility within the Royal Navy. Thirty percent of Royal Navy officers are recruited from the subordinate group known as ratings. There are considerable differences in cultural and behavioural expectations between the officer and rating groups. Officership in the Royal Navy is a high status profession which is aligned with upper middle class outlooks, as compared with the working class orientation of ratings.

The research is a field analysis of the Navy from a sociological perspective. It investigates officers who served during the period from 1934 to 2012. The research draws on the work a number of theorists particularly Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of hysteresis and *habitus clivé*. It investigates the promotion process; how officers negotiate the transition from membership of a subordinate group to that of a superordinate group, and what strategies former ratings utilise to gain promotion and perform the role of naval officer.

The thesis provides a close investigation of the officer world; comparison is made between the sub fields of the rating mess decks and the officer's wardroom taking into consideration the difference in expectations of material culture and corporeal embodiments in the two groups. In addition, the implications of promotion on the officer's family and his relationship with extended family is taken into account, as promotion can impact on all family members.

The research findings indicate that majority of the promoted men experienced ontological insecurity, they felt a disconnection between their innate sense of self and what they should be as an officer. As they transitioned from the rating to officer corps they enter a new operational field which is misaligned with their *habitus*, thus resulting in hysteresis. The individual finds themselves leading a duality of existences – a divided self or what Bourdieu calls *habitus clivé*. The conclusions indicate that *habitus* is such a strong influence on our understanding of self it overrides all other influences such as training and economic capital.

There are few sociological studies of the Royal Navy and this is the first analysis of this kind, it is hoped that it will contribute to the wider debate on the demands of social mobility occurring over a short time.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to those who have supervised me throughout this project; Dr Laura Hyman and Dr Simon Stewart who have been patient and understanding especially as I have brought this project to an end, and Professor Kay Peggs who set me off on this journey and gave me the confidence to believe I could do it. I am also grateful for the support of Dr Joseph Burrridge, Dr Kevin McSorley and other members of the Sociology department at the University of Portsmouth.

I would like to thank my friends who have helped in many ways; Dawn & Richie who were on standby with their IT expertise, Vicky, Alan, Andy, Marian, Rona, John and Sue H-D who have shared discussion and debate over meals and drinks. Dr John Wood who has given guidance and motivation. Dr Jo Stanley who has been a source of inspiration and shared her maritime interests with me.

I would like to thank all of the men and women who participated in this research, in addition the following officers were generous with their time and expertise:

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Rear Admiral Nick Lambert RN

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Captain Mike Young MBE RN

Lt Cdr Brian Witts MBE RN - Curator of HMS Excellent museum

Every person who replied to my request for participants has contributed to this research in some way – I hope I have given them a voice and helped those who recounted tales of difficult times.

My observations over forty years of involvement with the Royal Navy have enabled me to meet many inspirational, determined and funny people who sometimes work in very difficult circumstances and have a peaceful, perceptive and entertaining way of viewing the world.

I appreciate and enjoy the visits from Mike, Gem and Pete who have given me much happiness and fun and are my sounding board for new ideas and thoughts.

Most of all I want to thank Bear who has been my best friend for forty years and has given me knowledgeable guidance in Navy matters, a good supply of chocolate and rum and never moaned when the books arrive in the post.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of John Waugh who died in November 2011 and is remembered every day.

Researcher's Note

I have my own 'Navy life'. A week after my sixteenth birthday I joined the Merchant Navy as an officer cadet at a prestigious maritime college. As a young working class Londoner I was immediately immersed in another world: A world where people thought my accent was 'like a cockney' and that it was surprising that I had such good O levels considering I 'spoke like that'. Subjected to training that had elements of the 'knife and fork course' a new world was opened to me.

In subsequent years I attended a number of courses in Royal Navy establishments as an officer staying in wardrooms. In the wardroom at HMS Excellent there is an original oil painting named 'Head of a Sailor' by Arthur David McCormick¹. When I first saw it I recognised it immediately as the picture on my Dad's cigarettes, Players Weights. To me it had been a picture on a cigarette packet but for the officers in the wardroom it was a 'real' painting. The duality of understandings of the painting signified the huge cultural gap between my world and the 'bone fide' members of the ward room.



Head of a Sailor
Arthur David McCormick



My Dad's cigarettes

¹ Information from

http://www.godfreydykes.info/ROYAL_NAVAL_AND_BRITISH_MARITIME_SNIPPETS_5.html. This picture is one of several used by John Player & Sons during the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Note the cap tally has been variously illustrated as HMS Excellent, HMS Invincible and Hero.

I have been a Navy wife for twenty two years, keeping on the margins as I have always gone to work outside of the Navy world. There have been countless times when some of the issues discussed in this research have been observed or experienced by me. I am cautious in relating that information here as I do not want it to appear that I am trying to address my own experiences or have a grudge to bear or fall into what Van Maanen (1988) described as a 'black hole of introspection'. I am fascinated by this world that I have experienced and hope to illuminate other people's understanding of this unique environment and at the same time attempt to give a voice to all of those men and their families who have experienced the Navy's unique means of social mobility.

Please Note:

Throughout this document I will refer to the naval officer as male. This is because the research covers a period when women served in a separate service, namely, the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS). Women were not integrated into the Royal Navy until 1993. Although a few of the men in this research served with women it is such a vast area of investigation that it merits its own research

During this period, Military regulations prohibited same sex partners and therefore I refer to the spouse as the wife. This rule was overturned in January 2000.

For the Naval expert some nomenclature maybe a matter of debate but I have at all times used the terms and descriptions as described and used by the participants. It is acknowledged that these have changed over the research period and that personnel from different periods may use various terms for specialisations and job descriptions.

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Glossary of Terms

1st Lieutenant

A role similar to the Executive Officer. In a large establishment or Ship there would be both an **XO** and a First Lt. In smaller ships there would just be a First Lt who is sometimes referred to as the XO.

Artificer

Someone who joins the Navy on a recognised Apprenticeship scheme that enables the individual to fast track to Senior rate. Always in a technical specialisation for example a Weapons Engineer.

Branch

The category of job type an individual works in, for example there are engineer, warfare, logistics, and medical branches.

Dartmouth

The colloquial term for Britannia Royal Naval College (BRNC) in Dartmouth, the training establishment for officers.

Deployment

When a ship leaves its base port for an assigned task it is deployed. Individuals in the ship describe themselves as being deployed or on deployment. Deployments lasted between three months to two years during the research period.

Direct Entry Officer

A person who enters the Navy directly as an officer. Current requirements for direct entry are 180 UCAS points, during the period covered by this research this criteria would have varied to reflect existing academic qualifications at the time of entry.

DO - Divisional Officer

Officer in charge of a Division, who has a pastoral role and is responsible for the welfare of a group of Senior rates and Junior rates. The Divisional Officer has a similar role to a Line Manager in industry and business and is the first layer in the Management and Organisation disciplinary structure.

There are occasions when the Divisional Officer role is undertaken by a Warrant Officer or Senior rate.

Draft

When a rating is assigned to a ship or establishment it is called a draft. A draft lasts for approximately two to three years. Officers are not drafted, they are appointed to a post.

Executive Officer see XO

GL list

The General List. This is the list of Officers who hold a commission that has no rank limitation, a GL officer can be promoted to the highest ranks of the Navy.

Killick

A slang term for a Leading Rate. See table of Rates and Ranks in Appendix 4.

Knife and Fork Course

The training course given to all new officers in the Royal Navy. This comprehensive course provides training in a wide range of officer requirements including cultural and etiquette expectations.

Lower Deck

The traditional term used to describe the rating cohort.

Mess Deck

The area on a ship where ratings live. Ratings sleep and spend their off duty time in the mess decks. On a large ship there may be several mess decks, some accommodating up to sixty men during the period of the research.

Senior rates are always accommodated separately from junior rates.

Old Man

This is the colloquial term for the Commanding Officer or Captain of a ship.

Raleigh – HMS Raleigh

The main training establishment for new junior rates into the Navy. Many of the men in this research attended Raleigh. During the research period, there were other rating training establishments such as HMS St Vincent and HMS Ganges.

SD – Special Duties Officer

Is the older scheme for promotion from rating to officer that was in place before the current scheme - **SUY**. Some officers in this research were SD officers.

SL

The Supplementary List (as opposed to the GL above). This is a list of officers for whom there are limitations on the rank they can achieve. These limitations were due to the length of time they had been contracted to serve. For some officers there was an opportunity to transfer to the General List after their initial engagement.

Specialisation

Specialisation is the specific job carried out by an individual, for example in the Warfare branch specialisations included above water warfare, under water warfare, communications, divers and mine warfare.

SUY - Senior Upper Yardsman

The SUY scheme is the more recent programme for ratings who wish to be promoted to commissioned officer, this replaced the earlier **SD** scheme. Men promoted in this way sometimes describe themselves as SUYs.

'tif

See Artificer above

Tot

This is the term used for the daily issue of rum (70ml) that was served to naval personnel until 1970. Ratings were issued with a diluted ration and senior rates and above were served neat rum.

'Two and a Half'

The colloquial name for a Lieutenant Commander, whose insignia of rank is two and a half gold stripes. See appendix 4.

XO- Executive Officer

This is a job carried out by an Officer, usually the second in command of a ship or establishment and has an important managerial role. The XO is responsible for maintaining discipline and smooth running of daily work and activity.

Wardroom

The common term for the officer's accommodation, living and dining areas. It is also the metonym used by ratings to describe the officer corps.

WREN

A member of the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS).

The Wrens were integrated into the Royal Navy in 1993 and women now have full parity with men.

Outline of Work

This work is thematically organised and utilises analysis of class, status, capital, subjectivity, habitus and other sociological theory within a military framework to investigate the promotion of naval ratings to commissioned officer status.

Chapter 1 introduces the study and explains both the subject to be investigated and the context within which the research came to be considered. The research aims are detailed and there are introductory notes on the concept of class and how the history of the Royal Navy and the portrayal of the service in cultural forms has shaped the contemporary understanding of the naval officer.

In Chapter 2 rank and rate are explored and previous scholarship is utilised to outline some of the areas to be examined later on in the study. This includes a discussion of how military identity defines the person both within the service and in wider civilian life and how military rank is the key signifier of 'worth' or status in the service. The difference between officers and 'men' and how those positions define the role and expectations of individuals is explored. Rank defines the man – socially, culturally and psychologically, and there are ranked expectations across all elements of naval life. The discussion continues to examine how the lower deck and wardroom differ in all aspects such as interpersonal relationships, visual manifestation and geographies of rank. The study recognises how a number of cohesive practices are mandated and encouraged and training is used to create an idealised form of military masculinity.

In Chapter 3 the unique expectations of the naval officer are discussed; there are historical and cultural exemplars and these archetypes, especially those who have Weber's charismatic authority, help to recreate the officer ideal. The professionalization of the officer corps is discussed. In addition, the ways that officers perform their role according to their perceptions of what it is to be an officer - albeit sometimes ineffectively. The potential problems are considered and there is comment on why the transition from the rating core may create ontological insecurity.

Chapter 4 draws upon existing literature on military families and discusses the significance of the role of the family in the officer's career trajectory. The Navy as a total institution means that the wife is subsumed into the service and shadows her husband's rank. This incorporation into naval life means that the wife and children may have to move home and

there may be loss of friends and extended family in addition to a loss of sense of self. The range of potential influences on the family is considered in depth.

The methods used to carry out the research are discussed in Chapter 5 it is noted that the research was carried out by a process of immersion into the world observed. A range of sociological research techniques were used in addition to utilising a broad range of cultural and media representations. There is a discussion on how participants responded and how data was revealed from the onset of the work.

The remaining chapters present the data and an analysis of the data is divided into four distinct areas as follows.

Chapter 6 The first analysis chapter scrutinises the promotion process and examines how the participants made the transition from rating to officer. The initial investigation was to see how the officer saw himself at the point of entry into the Navy in terms of social class and other personal identity markers. A breakdown of reasons for promotion is included and an exploration of how the officer negotiated the promotion using a range of approaches and strategies including 'playing the game'. The difficulties of leaving the mess behind are investigated and the discussion considers how officers began to recognise that they were entering a new world.

Chapters 7 & 8 both investigate the officer world. The analysis is divided into two distinct sections. Chapter 7 investigates the embodied nature of officership. In this section the officer training known as the 'knife and fork' course is explored in relation to how men are transformed into the officer ideal. Data demonstrates how the participants acknowledged the transformatory process begun as soon as they commenced on the journey to the training establishment. Recognition of the 'cultural schemes' into which men were immersed is discussed, and how new officers began to absorb the embodied elements of officership. The idea of role performance is investigated in depth and elements of performance such as the wearing of uniform, saluting, linguistic forms and impression management are reviewed. In addition there is discussion regarding the stigma of being 'inauthentic'.

Chapter 8 complements Chapter 7 and evaluates the physical and material world of officers. The unique material and spatial culture of the officer world is scrutinised and there is analysis of the participant's response to their new environment. The difference between

the rating and officer worlds is examined in depth and how both 'sides' have class related views of the 'other'. The study explores how material goods were seen to exemplify the differing roles of the rating and officer, these manifestations of class related culture included the food and drink consumption, clothing and stewards. This chapter includes analysis of the branch/specialisation related responses to promotion and acknowledges how different occupational identities can influence response to promotion.

Chapter 9. Looks at the complexities of promotion and how it may generate difficulties for the individual. The effects of hysteresis and alienation are explored and how promotion can create self-esteem variability and induce feelings of inferiority. The implications of lack of economic and cultural capital are explored and how the parvenu may feel excluded from the new operational field. Recognition is given to the temporal influences upon the transition and how a new habitus begins to form. The discussion explores the differences between the way ratings and officers experience personal relationships within their subfields. Data analysis suggested that promotion took a considerable toll on family life and this is examined in depth with recognition of the strain on marriages and family life including extended kinship relationships. The role of the wife is examined and there is consideration of the significant role expectations of the wife in terms of embodied requirements, emotional labour and the anticipation of co-opted labour.

The final chapter draws together the data analysis and discusses the main conclusions of the research. The conclusive comments commence with analysis of the influences that affect the outcomes of promotion. A range of significant factors such as the era in which the officer served and the response of the spouse and family are discussed. There follows exploration on the influence of habitus on the socially mobile and how it influences their response to their new situation. Habitus is presented as the central element in ontological understanding of self and therefore key to the perception of self in the naval officer. It is also noted that the strength of the naval field sustains a collective consciousness that outweighs any anxiety and disquiet that may be felt by the promoted officer.

The work concludes with suggestions for further related investigations.

Chapter.1 Introduction

Research Aims

At the core of this research is the response of individuals to an instantaneous change of status, how they negotiate the move from a subordinate to a superordinate group and how the transition may create tensions and contradictions in the ontological understanding of self.

The Royal Navy, like all other military services, has a strictly divided hierarchical personnel system that is in place in order to maintain military capability and social cohesion within the service. It is a bureaucratic structure that has defence as its primary function. This function is dependent on personnel being reliable, dutiful and obedient to authority (occasionally under extreme circumstances,) and there must be a recognised routine and certainty in its diurnal activities. The capability of military forces is dependent on a highly defined rank structure that ensures that all personnel are aware of their position and duties within the organisation.

In the Royal Navy the ranks of individuals are broadly defined into two categories, namely 'ratings'² who are the subordinate group and 'officers' who are the super-ordinate group. There are considerable differences in the social and cultural backgrounds of the two groups and this is particularly so with regard to the period of this research which covers personnel who served in the Royal Navy at various times from 1934 until 1993. Most naval officers are recruited directly into the officer corps by means of strict suitability criteria and academic qualifications³. However, approximately 30% of officers are recruited from the rating corps⁴.

² Ratings are divided into Junior rates and Senior rates (which are the equivalent of Non-Commissioned Officers in the Army). Senior rates are very highly regarded and hold positions of responsibility however they are not Commissioned Officers.

³ These officers are known as GL – General List officers.

⁴ The name for these officers has varied over the period of this research. Terms used are; SD –Special Duties List Officers, SUY – Special or Senior Upper Yardsmen, previously Upper Yardman

My research has sought to investigate the conflict in perceptions of self and identity in Royal Navy Officers who are promoted from the lower deck. This transition appears, on the surface, to be a straightforward promotion that has been requested by the applicant, supported by the applicant's superiors and sanctioned (after an officer selection process) and passed by the Admiralty Interview Board. It is, however, much more complex than it appears on the surface. The newly promoted officer has to confront a host of cultural and social changes which challenge his perception of who he is. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the transition can be problematic and can cause the new officer to feel alienated, inadequate and inferior. These feelings are a response to the change in status from rating to officer and all that this entails. The Royal Navy Officer inhabits a middle-class arena which requires a considerably different habitus to that of the Rating in expectations of conduct, social skills and bearing.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu recognised that people who experienced a significant upward social trajectory, as he himself did, could find it very difficult to reconcile their innate sense of self - habitus, with their new operational field. Bourdieu (2000 p.160) argued that 'those whose dispositions are out of line with their field', can suffer from a cognitive misalignment he called hysteresis. As a consequence of hysteresis individuals commence performance of a duality of identities that straddle their old and new worlds leading to a divided self – a habitus clivé (cleft habitus).

My research seeks to investigate this complex transition by centring on the identity issues associated with promotion and utilising the concepts of habitus, field and cultural capital formulated by Pierre Bourdieu. Alongside the work of Bourdieu I employ the work of other theorists such as Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault to investigate role performance and the problematic aspects of social mobility. I am going to explore the ways in which promotion can affect not just the officer, but, in addition, his family who play an important support role and who also experience a significant shift in their position within society. This research uses field analysis as a technique to investigate social mobility within the Royal Navy. The Navy field is that of a military organisation that helps to maintain the security of the United Kingdom and provides assistance across the world when needed. The Navy is a central component of the power structure of the UK and as such senior naval officers are at the very top of the national power elite alongside those of the other Armed services, the

Civil Service and Political and Economic establishments. The concept of field is inextricably linked to that of habitus. For Bourdieu habitus, our innate dispositions, ways of thinking and seeing the world, 'captures how we carry within us our history' (Matton 2012). Habitus is developed within social structures or fields. In this case the Navy acts as a field within which individual habitus' are 'transposable' (Matton 2012). This research seeks to investigate how this happens.

The specific research questions are:

- How do naval personnel negotiate the move from a subordinate group to a superordinate one?
- How do the Rating and Officer Worlds differ, and how does this transition affect the promoted officer?
- What difficulties do promoted officers and their families experience?

These questions could be asked of any individual or group of people who have experienced upward mobility. However, promotion in the Royal Navy offers a unique investigative field within which to frame such questions. Promotion from rating or senior rate to commissioned officer produces an instant change in social standing both inside and outside of the military. This change requires the individual to present themselves as an archetypal officer with the cultural and embodied attributes of the naval officer as perceived in the naval service and the wider social arena.

All of the group known as 'Ratings' are the subordinate group and commonly referred to (in the Navy of the period I have investigated) as the 'lower deck'.⁵ Entry requirements for most rating posts state that there are no formal academic qualifications required. The ranks of Petty Officer, Chief Petty Officer and Warrant Officer are known as 'Senior Rates'; this group are ratings who have been promoted to non-commissioned officer status. They have separate accommodation and a different uniform to the junior rates and have an important

⁵ Many of the sources for this research draw on Army sociology and from the United States. The use of the terms Squaddie (Army) and Enlisted Man (United States) are interchangeable with rating.

job in bridging the rating/officer divide. They often have responsibility for the supervision and welfare of ratings. Nearly all ratings promoted to commissioned officer status have been senior rates. They will be referred to as ratings as they have joined the Royal Navy as a rating and served time on the lower deck.

The group known as Commissioned Officers are the super-ordinate group, for the period of this study and in the contemporary Royal Navy, they are colloquially known as the 'Ward Room'⁶. Approximately 30% of Commissioned Officers in the Royal Navy have been promoted from the lower deck, the remainder are direct entry officers⁷.

The Origins of this Research

This research originates from personal conversations whereupon friends who had served in the Royal Navy discussed some of the difficulties of being in the military. The topic of promotion from the lower deck came up repeatedly as one which created considerable tensions and, for some, had been quite traumatic. Although only a handful of promoted officers were known to me personally, the depth of feeling and the strong sense of inequity and unfairness of the situation were powerful.

There was no suggestion that the Royal Navy had not worked hard to assist those who went for promotion, indeed it was considered to be very good at providing the educational means to those who wished to progress and become academically qualified for officership. However, problems arose from a personal sense of not belonging to the ward room. The feelings of alienation and inferiority were deep-rooted and prevailing, and officers with high levels of occupational competency felt inadequate in ways that were not easy to define. The challenge of being working-class, as most ratings of the period were, promoted into a middle to upper middle class milieu, were never discussed or addressed.

⁶ In previous generations they were commonly known as the Quarter Deck.

⁷ Current entry requirements for direct entry officers are 180 UCAS points. For the period of the research it was less specific but an applicant would have to have demonstrable academic qualifications for officership.

The Royal Navy provided not just academic training but cultural and social training in the form of the officers' training course, colloquially known as the 'Knife and Fork' course. The object of this course was to not only teach leadership skills but social and cultural skills that were deemed essential for officers. However, for many it was the participation in this course that brought to their attention their perceived cultural and social inadequacies.

Issues arose from social and professional interaction with colleagues who were direct entry officers. Comments such as, 'you came in through the back door' or 'up through the hawse pipe' rankled promoted officers. Men felt, if not socially inferior, then certainly different and unable to fully take on the persona of a naval officer. These comments mirror those made by Skeggs (1997p.130) who describes her feelings upon joining University and the mortification she felt at being described as 'one of those working class people'.

Successive governments have had upward social mobility as a goal (Wintour 2004, BBC 2008, Cabinet Office DPMO 2010), and it is common for individuals to aspire to 'better' themselves, yet little is said of the impact of social mobility on the individual, apart from the economic benefits. In Friedman's (2014 p.354) discussion of social mobility he notes that it may not be 'an entirely progressive force'. As Friedman comments; there is a 'celebratory discourse' around upward social mobility that sees it as an indicator of a progressive and fair society. However, the recognition of upward mobility in economic terms does not tell the story in personal terms. It is sometimes the case that outward success may hide a number of negative factors. The dynamics of social mobility are much more than economic and, as Friedman notes, there can be 'adverse effects on kinship ties, intimate relationships, and most significantly on the ontological coherency of the self' (p.354).

These adverse effects may or may not be seen immediately, especially for those who had not previously thought themselves to be deficient in social and cultural knowledge and skills. For some it was only on reflection that they realised they had, in a sense, been victims of a class divide that is so nuanced and intangible that its understated and indirect influence on daily transactions and job satisfaction was barely noticeable at the time.

On reflection the individual may realise that there is a subtle and inconspicuous world to which they have no access or cannot emulate, a cultural divide that prevents a rating from complete absorption into the officer world. On consideration of their promoted lives they may reflect that there were actions at play, both in the work place and socially, that

affected their daily lives and that they have somehow been victims of a system that duped them into believing they had been socially promoted but which, at the same time, exposed weakness or a lack of knowledge and positioned them 'back down where you belong'. The complexity of these phenomena is difficult to quantify and the conundrum of class and cultural consciousness is well described by Jonathan Meades in his autobiography (2014 p.139):

There were too many markers to figure out:

Wealth, accent, house, manners, school, mode of transport, vocabulary, clothes, job, former rank, domestic servants, address, recreations, etc....

Why was game fishing superior to course fishing?, bridge to canasta, rugby to soccer, napkin to serviette, wood to plastic, opera to musicals, pipes to cigarettes?

The minutiae of class, its omnipresent power, pervading and ubiquitous, that influences every facet of our lives, is not tangible yet we read it in every transaction we make with another human. It affects our perceived success and our perception of who we are.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the phenomenon of social mobility within the Royal Navy and to examine, from a personal perspective, how individuals negotiated the experience of promotion in a highly stratified environment. It is hoped that this research will contribute to wider debates about class, subjectivity and social mobility. This project is unique as there are few sociological studies on the Royal Navy and there is no previous investigation on the transition from rating to officer.

The photographs overleaf illustrate the career trajectory of one of the participants in this research⁸.

⁸ Photographs by Kind Permission of Lt Commander T.Gibson RN (retired)



Fig.1 Junior Rate



Fig.2 Senior Rate (Petty Officer)



Fig.3 Lieutenant Commander

Why do the study?

The motivation behind this research is to give a voice to those who have experienced promotion from rating to officer in the Royal Navy and to demonstrate that upward social mobility has a problematic element that is rarely discussed.

The challenges to the individual on moving through the ranks of the Navy are huge- academically, socially and culturally. This is mirrored by the socially mobile in all areas of work; as individuals negotiate their new positions in society they face challenges to the ontological understanding of who they are. Profound considerations of existence, being and reality come into question and have to be addressed. There can be considerable ontological insecurity as an individual enters a new social and cultural world. Whilst there is work by Skeggs (1997, 2004) and Friedman (2014, 2015) and others that addresses the effects of social mobility, none of these addresses the unique situation of a military rating being promoted to commissioned officer status. There is a recognised shortage, not only of British sociological research on the problems faced by the promoted and upwardly mobile (Freidman2013), but more generally a lack of research into military lives (McSorley, 2013, Woodward 2011). As Lang (1972 p.13) observes;

The ameliorative orientation typical of sociologists inclined them towards an antimilitarist position from which war was viewed as a throwback to primitive barbarism and military institutions as anachronisms.

However, whilst this altruistic philosophy is understandable it means that a closed society rich for investigation is overlooked. Exploration into aspects of military life can contribute significantly to sociological knowledge.

During the mid twentieth century the United States Armed services found that sociological research and study could help engender an understanding of the problems faced when ‘a few hundred thousand men who lived and operated ...on the margins of society’ (Caforio 2006 p.13) had to adapt into a disciplined fighting force. American studies extend to family experiences of military life and other social issues, such as racial segregation and integration faced by military men and women (for example Bourg & Segal 1999, Cerman & Kaya,2005, Huebner & Mancini 2005). Whilst there is a rich catalogue of sociological research on the military in the United States including prominent studies such as Janowitz (1964), this is not the case in the United Kingdom, as McSorley (2013) observes ‘topics of

...militarism' are 'largely notable by their absence'. There are exemplary studies such as Hockey (1986) on army squaddies, Jessup (1996) on military communities and Jervis' (2011) psychoanalytic study of military wives but these are rare and very few sociological studies on the Royal Navy exist.

Although, Woodward and Jenkins (2011 p.253) observe that 'Individual military identities are constructed, articulated, negotiated and expressed within frameworks of rank/rate identification', British sociology has not explored, in depth, the experiences of rank and its influence on the implicit self. Rank is recognisable to all, both inside and outside of the military, as a way of positioning a person and gives the individual a framework within which to understand himself and others. I would like to take this further by looking at how the promoted officer creates a new identity and consider to what degree it is a 'performed', in as much as they have to renegotiate their place in the Navy as a response to both what they think others will want to see in them and how they want to be seen (Cooley 1902, Goffman 1959). Rate and rank are such profound identifiers that to move from one to the other involves a complex self re-identification process.

The lack of military sociological research is addressed and mirrored in other aspects of this research project. Profound effects on the implicit self when moving from one social milieu to another are often ignored in the celebratory dialogue on 'betterment' as Devos and Banaji (2003p.166) note 'very little research has analysed the relationship between self and identities that may be in conflict'. The identities of promoted ratings are transformed as they enter a new world of seniority; for some officers there is a considerable disparity in terms of understanding who they are in their newly promoted world in opposition to their previous rating persona. This conflict of self and identity in the upwardly mobile juxtaposes the 'distinct social benefits' of mobility alongside the 'social costs of the mobility experience' (Friedman 2013p.354).

The upwardly mobile have to negotiate new social terrain that can leave them feeling alienated and inferior. Promotion can cause rifts with family and friends as individuals are seen to reject their background and social circle for a perceived superior one. Whilst the occupational performance may be relocated with ease, the accompanying social expectations may not be so easy to deal with. The social distinction between ratings and officers is profound and the upwardly mobile in the Royal Navy have to cope with a host of real and metaphorical changes that realign them as an officer, or, to be more precise, a

member of the 'officer class'. As Bourdieu (1984 p.106) stated; 'Social class is not defined by a property... [but by] the structure of relations between all pertinent properties'. This suggests that when the relationship between individuals and their surroundings alter, what had been relevant, properties such as social contacts, cultural knowledge and understanding of self, change and there is a re-alignment of class position and interrelationships between family, friends and colleagues.

This research hopes to help address the lack of sociological studies on the Royal Navy and, at the same time, contribute to the exploration of the costs of social mobility. Furthermore, it seeks to investigate, within a naval context, the transition from one class to another. This project is unique in providing a class-based analysis of the transition from rating to officer. It contributes to the growing body of literature on *habitus clivé* in other spheres of life and hopes to engender a broader understanding of the struggles of social mobility.

Class

If there are cultural, social and self-belief deficits in officers promoted from the lower deck that affect their ability to adapt, they are born out of early socialising processes that differ considerably from social influences experienced by those for whom officership is seen to be aligned with their status and place in society.

On being commissioned, all naval officers are categorised as being middle-class⁹. Their position, both in the military and in society, gives them middle class status, assigning them culturally and officially to a high status group. Naval officership is considered a profession in contrast to naval rating positions which are more aligned with skilled labour positions.

⁹ For example within the Office of National Statistics classification system, a Military officer would be in the NS-SEC Analytic Class 1, a senior rate would be 2 and a junior rate at the beginning of his career would be 5. <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html>

In the National Readership Survey classification system an officer would be Grade A, a senior rate C1 to B depending on seniority and a junior rate C2. <http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/>

Utilising the classification system as devised by Savage et al (2013 *Sociology* 47(2) 219–250 : sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav DOI: 10.1177/0038038513481128 soc.sagepub.com) an officer would be Established Middle Class, a senior rate Technical Middle Class and a junior rate of the research era would be positioned as working class.

Along these lines Light (1998) argues that 'the military has increasingly become a profession...enlisted men are not considered to be professionals'.

For many of those promoted from the lower deck who come from working class backgrounds, they do not immediately feel middle class on entry into the officer corps. This difference in self-belief and propensity for officership originates from the processes by which the two groups are socialised in the early years. As Skeggs (2014) notes; 'we inherit ways of understanding; we inherit the meanings associated with social positions and positions in knowledge'. Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital is acquired primarily through social origin and only secondarily through schooling. Our perceptions of self are imbedded in the way we are brought up and the social arena in which primary socialisation occurs. The social, cultural and educational experiences of ratings who were from a predominantly working class/ lower middle class backgrounds was considerably different from those of direct entry officers whose backgrounds were solidly middle or upper middle class. In Britain, class is notoriously difficult to define and there are many subtle nuances that indicate to others where you are from socially.

The Marxist approach to class that posits two oppositional groups that are defined by their relation to their means of production in a capitalist society is not applicable to military analysis, as it can be argued that the military is an institution outside of the market place. Although the military upholds power for the state as part of the triumvirate, along with business (economy) and political control, the position of the workers within the force does not directly correspond with the rigid definitions that Marx offers. The military framework does not fit within a Marxist economic definition of the work place.

Weber (Gerth & Mills 1948), on the other hand provides a conceptualisation of class that accommodates the position of military workers in a more relevant way. Weber sees a duopoly of class and status that interrelate yet can also be considered separately. For Weber status was distinct from the economic order, status groups are 'characterized by patterns of consumption and the pursuit of specific lifestyles' (Morrison 2006 p.305). In the military, status is highly defined and visually acute.

Whilst military officers have considerable status, officers promoted from the lower deck may not have 'class' in the way expected of them whether economically, socially or culturally. The requirements for a naval officer to embody a range of cultural, social and physical attributes may not be met by those who have not absorbed these defining

characteristics in their significant early years. The 'enigmatic concept' (Grenfell 2012) that is habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 2000) from which they come, is divided between the new expectations of officership and their innate ontological perceptions of self; what Bourdieu (2004 p.100) describes as habitus clivé – a divided self. Weber's separation of class from status enables analysis of the role of the military officer that is more relevant to this study. Status provides a structure of human hierarchies that is the bedrock of military life whereas class is associated with 'life chances in the market' (Morrison 2006 p.305).

Naval officers may present with a considerable range of personal, familial and inheritable wealth but it is not these alone which brings the prestige that naval officership offers. It is the status of being a naval officer that demonstrates to the world that you are exceptional. This status may not necessarily include financial wealth; status 'hinder(s) the strict carrying through of the sheer market principle' (Weber 1948a p.185). Status groups are described by Weber as communities. Although Weber argues property is not always recognised as a 'status qualification' (p.187) there is within a group a 'recognized style of life' for those who wish to be members. Once this style of life is established by appropriating certain 'characteristics and badges' the social order settles and status differentiations become more rigid. Honour and prestige comes with the uniform, or as Weber describes, 'special costumes' (p.191) from the day the individual is commissioned by the armed service and issued with his cap and badge¹⁰.

Prestigious status groups rely on the assumption that they are superior to others, and this superiority is emphasised in the military by ritualistic practices that highlight the differences between those with high status and those outside of the group. For example, an officer at his commissioning ceremony, participates in sword drill which differentiates him from a rating who undertakes a drill with rifles; the promoted officer takes on a new status, with this act being one of many.

¹⁰ The 'special costumes' of status in the Royal Navy can be seen overleaf. The uniform, insignia of rank and the weapons carried have significant status meanings. From BR 3 part 6 Dress Regulations February 2013.



Fig.4 Ratings 1A Formal Dress



Fig.5 Senior Rates 1A Formal Dress



Fig.6 Commissioned Officer 1A Formal Dress

Individuals in the status group may not have the private economic resources that others have; however, they share the prestige of group membership. Status group membership brings with it the expectation of conformity to the group's norms across a variety of personal and lifestyle behaviours and choices of consumption, such as modes of dress, leisure pursuits and cultural involvement. Although these norms may function 'outside the market order' and 'status can exist without wealth' (Morrison (2006 p.308), conforming may be dependent on the individual being able to afford the lifestyle and trappings associated with compliance to the group. Sometimes individuals will go to extreme lengths to uphold the status of the group, for example, the altruistic act of Lord Mountbatten paying for his less well-off officers to drink in the ward room (Ziegler 1985 p.87) suggests that, apart from being philanthropic, he wanted his officers to have the appearance of being real officers and gentlemen. This act served to uphold the status of the group and Mountbatten's own status as an aristocrat who wanted to continue living an extravagant lifestyle.

Status groups evaluate both themselves and others based on shared tastes and consumption patterns (Morrison 2006 p.310). Status groups may sometimes behave in unexpected ways, for example in Britain conspicuous consumption is often inversely proportional to status and is looked down upon. Skeggs (1997a p.91) notes how the 'posh' have a way of looking 'down at heel' in a middle class way, and assume a 'consciously constructed non-respectable appearance'. However, these constructions do not fool the observer, the 'truth' is revealed by movements through space- for example the way you walk or carry your body, that 'send [out] strong class signals' that signpost the embodied reality of social order. Bourdieu recognises these spatial movements and other corporeal presentations as part of a synthesis of class indicators less overt than wealth. He offers a different way of approaching class that is based on 'capital' movements through social space (Skeggs 1997a p.126).

Although submission to dress codes, the 'right' cultural participation patterns, leisure and sport choices, and other consumption practices to conform to status group expectation, is recognised by a number of theorists (Bourdieu,1977, Goffman,1959, Cooley,1902, Lahire,2011) these objectified forms can, at a price, be bought, learnt or copied. Not so easy to emulate are the personified dispositions of class which others recognize to be part of the group. It is these embodied manifestations of class and status that are the most

difficult, and sometimes impossible, to learn- indeed Bourdieu (1977 p.94) suggests they are so innate they are 'beyond the grasp of consciousness'. However much time and money is available, it is not enough. Inherited and innate forms of 'bodily hexis' (ibid) such as posture, bearing and the spoken word are profoundly engrained and impossible to alter entirely. These inherited corporeal manifestations are 'thoroughly revealing of social origins and position' (Bennett et al 2009 p.154) and therefore present problems if an actor is attempting to present as something else. These embodied expressions of an individual's socialisation are difficult to exorcize and can create inner tension for the promoted person who is expected, by himself and others, to behave in a different way. The internalisation of class as an 'intimate form of subjectivity' is so profound that Skeggs suggests that 'there are limits to...passing as middle class' (Skeggs 1997 p.90). The internalised dispositions we have, 'generate ...meaning giving perceptions' (Bourdieu 1984 p.170), and Bourdieu calls these outlooks and manifestations of self our 'habitus'. The habitus is our history embodied in how we think, behave and interpret ourselves (Maton 2012). It is both a 'structuring and structured structure' (Bourdieu (1984 p.170) that results from 'different conditions of existence', in other words our histories are revealed in our presentation to the world and we are both formed by where we come from and as a result classifiable by those who observe us. Some people have a chameleonesque ability to move with poise between different social groups. As Clancy (1997 p.45) observes, there are those who can exchange 'one voice for another, slipping accents and identities on and off like second-hand coats' but notes that this happens at a 'cost' such as ontological incoherence and identity confusion and ultimately 'nothing seems to fit'.

In the case of the Navy, the most potent form of capital is rank; it is a recognised classification of the individual which positions him within naval hierarchy. However to participate fully in officer life and perform rank the officer needs to have other capitals. Whilst Bourdieu (1986 p.253) points out that economic capital can be converted into other forms of capital, it is at 'the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation'. He acknowledges that transformation is not easy and that, although economic capital can be 'transubstantiated' into cultural and social capital, it 'takes time to accumulate' and that capital, particularly the embodied 'cannot be transmitted instantaneously' (Bourdieu 1986 p.244). In some cases the transformation comes at a high emotional and psychological cost that is difficult to address.

Bourdieu (1986 p.243) identifies three elements of cultural capital: embodied (inherited dispositions), objectified (physical objects that convey meaning) and institutionalised (the credential that an institution recognises). This division suggests that it is a complex set of changes and negotiations that confront those who achieve a new status on promotion in the military. The institutionalised nature of the job ensures that some aspects are a daily reminder of inferiority and subordination; the daily requirements to salute superiors and obey orders are a clear example. However, there is a very robust connection between the three forms of cultural capital in the persona of a military officer.

The requirement for the recruit to have a number of embodied and corporeal indicators of rank is central to the recruiting process for direct entry officers. Attributes such as 'bearing – carriage, smartness, poise... to command respect of peers... ability to speak clearly and (have) personal magnetism' (Caforio 2006 p.259) are subjective and not easily quantifiable. These attributes are likely to be inherited rather than taught and are therefore, somehow, just expected to exist. As Bourdieu notes, there is a difference between 'inherited' and 'acquired' forms of embodied capital and there is a limit to how much an individual can acquire; 'it cannot be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent' (Bourdieu 1986). Clearly individuals can accrue cultural capital, but it may be noticeable to those in the culturally superordinate group that there is an element of performance that renders the persona presented as being 'not quite right', such as being over confident or resorting to linguistic hypercorrection (Labov 2006).

The objectified form of cultural capital is the most easily acquired. For a start the new officer will be issued with an officer's uniform that will signify to everyone in military society that he has rank capital. This goes hand in hand with the institutionalised form as the issue of the officer's uniform is recognition of achievement, both academically and professionally. The uniform is a visual certification of 'guaranteed competence' (Bourdieu 1986). With this significant reminder of aptitude comes a realisation that you 'have made it' and that the individual has succeeded in achieving a new status. However, unease felt in the new officer environment can mean that the individual can feel out of place and this is problematic as there can be no going back; the military does not allow an officer to return to rating status. There is then a class and cultural division that does not fit in with achieved status.

It can be seen therefore that status and class do not necessarily go hand in hand, and that class appropriate behaviour does not come with status as it has to be learnt. However, even with considerable effort, not all elements of the desired class can be bought or learned. This thesis emphasises the cultural interpretation of class analysis as the main investigative approach to the topic. Class as a disposition has its origins in primary socialisation and includes bodily movement and natural motion through space, an almost ethereal corporeal embodiment of upbringing and ancestry.

Historical Context

Before the subject matter of this thesis can be investigated it is important to consider the wider historical context. Although Bauman and May (2001 p.3) suggest that historical context is not always necessary as, 'history is about actions that took place in the past, whereas Sociology concentrates on current issues', in this case the historical context is an essential component in engendering a full understanding of the complex relationship between ratings and officers. The essential contribution that history makes to this study cannot be disregarded and it would be negligent to ignore the influence of previous generations of naval attitudes and approaches. To consider where 'society stands in human history' (Mills 1959 p.6) brings to the fore context and understanding of the subject. The relevance of historical influence is so strong that Bourdieu suggests that 'the social world is accumulated history' (Bourdieu 1986 p.1) and that society is a product of its past. A sociological study of a group of people such as naval officers at a certain time, in this case the twentieth century, reflects a 'fatal intersection of time with space' (Foucault 1984 p.1), an intersection that reflects what has gone on before and is part of the formation of a unique heterotopic space.

The scale of Naval influence on British Society during previous historical periods is demonstrated by a contemporary sociologist using it as an exemplar of a pre-industrial homogenous organisation. As Grint (2005 p.52) notes, the Navy was the 'largest and most expensive work unit in the Western world at the time [the nineteenth century]... employing almost 85,000 officers and men'. It is therefore easy to see how the Navy, as such a significant and historical institution, has become so deeply embedded in the historical and social culture of the United Kingdom.

i. The Beginnings of Officership

The roots of officership, as understood in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, are in the Restoration period of 1660-1688 when there was a deliberate policy of recruiting officers from the aristocracy as a form of protectionism for the Crown. This was because, 'Naval power was intimately linked with popular radicalism... and ... opposition to the crown' (Rodger 2013 p.10). During the Commonwealth period the Navy had been officered by many men sympathetic to the Republican cause (Rodgers 2004 p.50) and the Restoration Navy needed to ensure that 'aristocratic dominance' was not undermined (Burk 2006 p.112). Recruiting from the upper echelons of society was not unique to Great Britain and 'throughout most of the 18th century, the armies of Europe were built on an aristocratic model. Standing armies of the crown, were officered by members of the nobility...' (Burk 2006 p.112). For subsequent years, continuing through to 'Nelson's Navy' in the 18th and 19th centuries, officers continued to be recruited from the aristocracy and upper classes; commissions were paid for, or grace and favour positions were given to sons of the elite. There were several attempts to make officer candidature more egalitarian but they faced much resistance, particularly from the elite classes (Lavery 2011).

Naval officership thus came to be seen as a 'birthright' of the aristocracy and upper classes (Conley 2009) and for ratings that were keen to be promoted it was suggested that they had chosen the 'wrong service' (Conley 2009). As the standing of the Navy became more significant and highly esteemed many Admirals were raised to the peerage (Rodger 2004), there was a perpetuation of the cycle of recruitment from the elite sections of society. Fathers, grandfathers, uncles and family friends ensured that their protégés followed them into the service in the hope that even greater things would follow. The officer corps thus became a status group created and determined outside of the 'economic order' (Morrison 2006).

The hegemony of the Navy, its supremacy and its elite reputation upheld by Government recognition of its importance, ensured that it was seen as a highly prized career option for ambitious families, who would put their sons forward for officer candidature, sometimes at considerable cost. Apart from having to be recommended by someone for entry as a midshipman (the precursor to officer status) cadets were not paid and their families had to

financially support them. Fees had to be paid for attendance at the Britannia Royal Naval College and uniform had to be purchased (Wragg 2009 p.34). It was not, therefore, an option for the less well off.

Whilst the recruitment of officers was going on through the upper and upper middle class ranks of British society, the lower deck were being recruited from the working class maritime communities that existed along the coasts and shores, such as ferrymen, lightermen, and fishermen. However, as military campaigns escalated in Europe and other parts of the world, the desperate need for crew was met by forcing men into naval service by press gangs (Lewis 2004, Lavery 2010). Men who were pressed into naval service had to work and fight just as hard as volunteers and the life was extremely demanding; the precursors of the cohesive practices discussed later in this work were developed during this period. The oppositional nature of crew against officers, combined with practices such as singing whilst hauling or undertaking other jobs, and dancing and singing for recreation, helped to create a distinctive lower deck atmosphere. These practices were the foundations of lower deck life; the habitus of the lower deck sailor was absorbed and carried forward with each new generation of sailors.

On the other hand, the understanding that officers were gentlemen was taken for granted, and as Rodger (2004 p.387) notes 'the Royal Navy Academy established in 1737....admitted only the sons of noblemen and gentlemen'. The Navy, despite the inequality in recruiting for lower and upper decks during this period, was egalitarian in its exposure of both officers and men to death and disease; it was a very dangerous job for all on board regardless of rank. All members of the ship's company would be expected to become familiar with the full range of seagoing skills. These highly advanced skills involved activities that were energetic and exhausting and upon which people's lives depended, were essential learning for all on board and potential officers therefore had to learn them. Lives depended on all men, and officers were not exempt. Rodgers (2004) describes the Navy as subverting civil society and states that the Navy was 'socially unique' in that future officers, although generally from comfortable homes, had to exert themselves in just the same way as crew. For young officers it was essential to train in all aspects of seamanship; many of these skills were taught to them by 'common seamen' and they had to learn fast to survive.

It should be noted that there were, during this period, some officers who worked their way up from lowly origins, and these predecessors to the men in my research had, amongst their number, a few 'who had been pressed into the navy' (Rodger 2013 p.16)¹¹. For the upper classes who were 'by custom exempt or excluded from industrial occupations' (Veblen 1899 p.7), military officership offered a prestigious way of being employed. As Veblen notes, there were 'certain employments to which a degree of honour attaches. Chief among the honourable employments in any feudal community is warfare'. It can be seen that military officership was not only honourable but was, in fact, the domain of 'gentlemen'. As time progressed 'naval officers from the 18th Century on, regarded themselves and wished to be regarded by others as gentlemen' (Elias 2007p.30). They perpetuated, by behaviour and expectation, a gentlemanly identity that had its roots in their families and habitus, which they brought into the Navy:

Gentlemen who came as officers... naturally continued ... to live in the style to which they were accustomed... they assumed... attitudes of superiority which were second nature to them, they were separated from the ships company (p.40).

This perception of cultural superiority was matched by identification with those who governed politically and this inculcated in them that they should 'govern the ship' (Elias 2007p.68). It can therefore be seen that officership developed organically into an occupation that perpetuated middle and upper class ideals and had close ties with a power elite that straddled all aspects of society.

During the period after the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 the gap between officers and men widened, especially once ships with engines were developed and the need for the full range of seamanship skills by officers was diminished. Deck officers had less to do with the extremes of seamanship and therefore focused on navigation and leadership skills. Officership was professionalised and a new officer culture developed away from the harshness of deck life, a specialised approach developed from the social milieu and cultural influence of the 'gentleman'. The aristocratic nature of military officership was seen by some as being detrimental to the forces for which they served; social bearing and behaviour overrode military skills and ability (Huntington 1957 p. 53) and the need for a different approach to officer recruitment was desired. As

¹¹ 'Impressment was a long standing authority from the state for the recruitment to military service, either on land or on sea. The impress service, or more commonly called the press gang, was employed to seize men for employment at sea in British seaports'. <http://www.nmrn-portsmouth.org.uk/sites/default/files/Impressment>

the Royal Navy developed into a world-renowned fighting force, the professionalization of military officership created a classed differential between officers and ratings. The combination of the 'urbanity, civility and moderation' and rational behaviour of the officer was contrasted with the bawdiness and a 'rumbustious, mostly male counter culture' (Tombs 2014 p.283) of the lower deck sailor.

In the mid nineteenth century attempts were made to recruit officers from the lower deck; for example, Admiral 'Jacky' Fisher attempted to confront the problem by concentrating on 'recruiting middle class boys from public schools and universities' (Conley 2009) in an attempt to make recruitment appear more egalitarian. He also encouraged Winston Churchill, who was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time to pursue ways of providing promotion prospects to a wider sector of the naval community. However, the constraints and limitations of the system are demonstrated by the fact that only four men from the lower deck were promoted to commissioned status in the nineteenth century. (Conley 2009p.55)

ii. Twentieth Century Officership

In the first half of the twentieth century things did not change substantially, the need for massive recruitment during the Second World War demonstrated that the Navy was still very much a class-ridden institution. During the Second World War men were recruited for officer candidature for the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve from yacht clubs and public school backgrounds, rather than existing lower deck sailors being promoted. The wardrooms of naval ships began to fill with graduates and members of other professions such as solicitors, who were already imbued with the 'right qualities' for officership. As Pryor (2011 P.115) writes; 'class remained a pernicious issue in the navy, and the recruitment and selection of officers was one of the most controversial examples of the consequences'. Clubs such as the Royal Yacht Squadron that 'had strong links with the Navy' were highly exclusive and other clubs where membership was restricted to elite groups such as Oxbridge graduates and public school educated young men provided a steady flow of officers into the wartime Navy. These clubs where 'membership could be used as a measure of one's place on the social scale' (Lavery 2008 p.12) helped to influence and propagate the expectations of upper and upper middle class officers in the Royal Navy.

Men with 'experience of yachting' were commissioned even though they had little or no experience in the requirements for naval service (Pryor 2011)

The Royal Navy recognised that officers represented a certain sector of society, even stating in the Naval Officers pocketbook (1944) that 'naval captaincy is essentially aristocratic'. The same handbook did, however, caution against using too much aristocratic authority and recognised 'most of the evils of modern times have arisen through the upper classes expecting privileges without obligation. Such an outlook should not exist in the Navy' (Royal Navy Officer's Pocket Book 1944 p.101). The lower decks were fully aware of their inferior status as Taylor (2012) quotes a sailor as saying 'there were still a lot at the top end who thought education and breeding were the be all and end all of service life'. In the early to mid-years of the twentieth century officers were the recipients of a considerably luxurious lifestyle including the expectation of a man servant who undertook the role of valet:

All from the rank of lieutenant onwards were assigned a Marine servant to rouse him in the morning, fill his tub in the officer's bathroom, see to his clothing and his laundry and keep the cabin and its contents clean and tidy (Taylor, 2012 p.85).

The replication of standards expected and experienced at home by officers was taken for granted and the ideals of the gentleman class were imitated at sea:

In the 1920s... the atmosphere in the wardroom ...had something of the character of an English country house or a gentleman's club ashore with all their quirks and mannerisms'. (Taylor 2012 p.87)

There was some public disquiet with the way military officers were pandered to and some observers went public with their feelings, such as the journalist Hannen Swaffer whose 1946 essay 'What would Nelson do?' included support for ratings from a number of Conservative and Labour MPs, and other public figures and it repeatedly raised the inequalities between officers and ratings as an issue. Conditions for ratings compared to the indulged lifestyles of officers polarised the two groups, reinforcing the superior and inferior positions, and contributed to a lower deck unity that is an integral component of the lower deck habitus. The system was perpetuated by the desire of senior officers to protect their lifestyle, and complaints by ratings were not easily made due to men being frightened of being 'branded' a troublemaker and given an undesired draft (Swaffer 1946).

The Second World War created a demand for enlargement of the officer corps and recruitment from the ratings corps became more common. This continued in the post-war period. The Navy created a scheme known as Special Duties (SD) in 1956 (Dyer 2015) which was set up to enable ratings to progress to commissioned officer status.

iii. Cultural Manifestations of Naval Officers and Ratings

By the late eighteenth century, sea power had been part of the patriotic English self-image for over two centuries (Rodger 2013p.11).

Rodger describes the national worship of the Navy as a 'cult' and, certainly in the late eighteenth century, there were a considerable number of monuments and shrines constructed to commemorate the heroic and courageous men of the Navy. Naval cult worship manifested itself in ways not dissimilar to contemporary devotion to sports and music stars. Lincoln (2013) reflects this when discussing the response 'to topical events,' such as naval warfare, being influential on 'taste and fashion'. Celebrated officers were honoured with an assortment of merchandise; prints, portraits, jewellery, china products, clothing and home furnishings. The naming of pubs, beer, children and pets after famous naval officers was common and the mania extended to cultural activities such as plays, ballads, and even; 'dramatic spectacles relating to naval engagements including panoramas, mock sea battles Gallery shows and theatre pieces' (Lincoln 2013).

Whilst fanship of naval personnel was partly the domain of women, portrayals of military officers and men were highly masculinised and all visual and written portrayals were strongly male. The 'gendered connotations are inescapable' suggests Morgan (1994) who notes that

In statues, heroic paintings, comic books, and popular films... The stance, the facial expressions, and the weapons clearly connote aggression, courage, a capacity for violence, and, sometimes, willingness for sacrifice.

Portrayals of naval personnel were very much classed. Officers were depicted as aristocratic; they were dashing, courageous, handsome and outstanding leadership exemplified the officer ideal. Alternatively the lower deck sailor, whilst portrayed as brave, loyal and hardworking, was also portrayed as a bawdy, 'girl in every port' man, a licentious character with loose morals who drank heavily. Despite this representation the lower deck

sailor enjoyed devotion from the public. As Rodger states (2013), 'Since the seventeenth century the 'Wapping tar' had been a symbol of unaffected courage and patriotism'. The lower deck sailor was depicted as loyal and patriotic. His portrayed subservience to superiors reflected working class expectation of acquiescence and deference to those in superior roles, both occupationally and socially. As Conley (2009 p.102) notes, 'new representations of naval men were preoccupied with class distinctions that elided realities of class tensions'. As sailor awareness swept the nation across social boundaries, it ignored the realities of super-ordinate/subordinate relationships within military life.

Although this sailor celebrity worship began to wane after the Napoleonic wars, representations of Naval personnel came to the fore again in the Second World War when a whole new genre of naval heroes were presented to the public. Whilst the image of the Georgian Navy was replaced by the grey and menacing imagery of the modern battleship, the essential components of characterisation of naval officers and 'men' remained. With the new 20th century medium of film, the public were given a more realistic interpretation of life at sea and many films in the post war period enabled the public to read the naval officer and rating in a modern setting. Films such as 'In Which We Serve' (1942), which is the definitive portrayal of the differences between officers and men, illustrated the cultural and social differences in the work and home lives of naval personnel.

Highborn Second World War naval heroes such as Louis Mountbatten and Prince Phillip reinforced the connections between naval officership and aristocratic right, and illustrated Elias' (2001 p.3) view that 'military skills stem from the values and habitus of noblemen'. These two men, highly esteemed professionally and socially, had the added advantage of Weber's (1948c) charismatic authority which enabled the media to perpetuate the image of the impeccable naval officer.

These cultural depictions help to form the essential understanding of the two groups. For the participants in this research, individual interpretations of the roles they act out as rating and, subsequently, officers are influenced and reflected by historical precedent. It can be seen that modern perceptions of what it is to be a naval officer or rating are strongly influenced by historical models.



Fig.7



Fig.8

The personification of the modern naval man can be seen in these films. Whilst in the above films (figures 8 & 9) the naval officer is presented as the gentlemanly officer ideal, the portrayal of ratings in the films below (figures 9 & 10) show him to be a cheeky, chappy, jolly 'jack tar'.



Fig.9



Fig.10

Chapter.2 Rank and Rate

Military Identity and Rank

Being in the military is not just a job. On joining an armed service an individual immerses him or herself into another world, a realm that is separate from civilian life and which has its own rules, regulations, codes of conduct and behavioural norms. As Janowitz (1971:175) notes; 'The Military profession is more than an occupation; it is a complete style of life'. The unique and separate nature of military life creates the feeling that members are somehow unique and outside of the normal parameters of civilian life. As Butler (1997 p.103) suggests, 'The Military is... a zone of partial citizenship'.

Military organisations comply with the description of a 'total institution' as described by Goffman (1961 p.17), who states clearly that when the barriers that are normally in place between the spaces in which an individual conducts 'sleep, play and work' are broken down, and all activities take place within one location under a single authority, there is a situation which creates a 'barrier to social intercourse with the outside' (p.15). A military force is an insular environment that separates its members physically and metaphorically from civilian life. Military identity is a multi-layered and finely demarcated social group of which both insiders and outsiders have a strong understanding of the group's purpose and aims. Public perception and recognition of what the military is, and the response of military personnel to both these perceptions and the embedded culture of military life, help to create the 'military man'¹².

The armed services are positioned alongside the rest of society, both as a function of the state and to uphold the state's political, social and commercial interests. However, it is noted by Lang (1972 p.47) that, 'the professional military retains its character as an insular community'. Therefore, the military, in its entirety, is defined by its distinctiveness and separateness from civilian life.

¹² Throughout this document I will refer to the naval officer as male. This is because the research covers a period in which women could not be members of the Royal Navy, they had to serve in the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS). All of the men participating in this research joined the Navy before the WRNS was subsumed in the Royal Navy. This is discussed further in chapter on Methods.

The next defining layer is which service the individual works for; the Royal Navy, Royal Marines¹³, Army, or Royal Air Force. The division between the different services is highly visible, both in terms of the jobs undertaken, equipment used and uniform worn, but also in the way these things are done, the service culture, and the field in which they operate (Bourdieu 2000 p.226). Bourdieu's concept of field observes the social space, both physical and metaphorical, in which transactions, communications, and procedures take place in any society or community. Thomson (2012) refers to Bourdieu's comment that a field is a 'structured social space, a field of forces, a force field' and thus operates within its own specific rules. For members of the Navy field the officer is the field incarnate. He embodies the structure and meaning of the Navy 'game' and is a core component of its very being. The Navy, Army or Air Force 'man' is expected to conduct himself and function according to the force ideal. He will respond to what he thinks it is to be a member of his service and, thus, mirror the public's expectation of them (Cooley 1902 p.216). The significant characteristics of each service are upheld, not just by service culture and public image, but by a huge catalogue of cultural, literary, film and media representations (Colville 2004 p.9).

Considerable representations of the military in the media, history and popular culture define, generate and propagate what it is to be in the military and these representations become the dominant model of military life, both for those in the armed services and for civilians who have their views of the military created by such depictions. The difference in approach by the four services is acknowledged by Kirke (2012 p.ii) who discusses the 'Cross cultural issues in the four services' and emphasises how personnel define themselves by both the service they work for and in opposition to the other services.

These strata of identity are then broken down even further; as Lewis (2004 p.23) notes, 'every fighting service has... two main categories - Officers and Men'. This description corresponds with the division between 'a large and managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff', as described by Goffman (1961 p.18). In this case the ratings are the inmates and the officers are the supervisors. Within the armed service there is a highly defined rank and hierarchical structure; 'the military contract gives rise to a system of estates where the subjects know exactly where they stand in relation to each other....subordination is extensive....and elaborately policed' (Lane 1985 p.142). As

¹³ The Royal Marines are a branch of the Royal Navy but have their own service ethos and culture.

Woodward and Jenkins (2011 p.253) observe, 'Individual military identities are constructed, articulated, negotiated and expressed within frameworks of rank/rate identification'.

The Royal Navy, like all other military forces, stratifies its members by rank. There are three main groups, namely ratings, senior rates and officers. Ratings are commonly called the 'lower deck'¹⁴ and are the subordinate group; senior rates are, as the name suggests, ratings who have worked their way up to senior positions, such as Chief Petty Officer or Warrant officer – they are not, however, Commissioned officers. Commissioned officers, colloquially known as the 'ward room' are the super-ordinate group. As Swaffer (1946 p54) emphasised, 'there are two worlds in the Navy, the world of the officer and the world of the rating, and they are worlds apart'. These two worlds represent a power structure that has a profound effect on all members. They are all members of a military force whose job is to ultimately conduct warfare and, as Higate (2003 xiii) notes:

Managers of violence are carefully distinguished from those responsible for engendering and sustaining the violence of others who are charged with its execution. Rank marks the eternal differentiation between more or less powerful men.

Lewis (2004) notes of the eighteenth century Navy: 'There were three different kinds of officer - 'Commissioned', 'Warrant' and 'Petty' – all entitled to the name but differing greatly in status.... (however) when society labelled a person an 'Officer and a Gentleman', it really meant 'Commissioned officer and Gentleman'" – that is, holding the Kings commission. This is still the case in the contemporary Navy. A Warrant officer or Chief Petty Officer holds a senior and much respected position in the Navy but does not have the ultimate power, influence and status of the commissioned officer.

There is a considerable volume of historical work on the Royal Navy, and some histories have encompassed a social analysis of the lower and quarter decks, investigating the demographic and social background of the two groups (for example the work of Lewis, 1965 p.19, Rodger, 2004 p.507, Lavery, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012). Historians and sociologists have written about the differences and struggles in the rating/officer relationship (Hockey, 1986 p.3, Lavery, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012), and the sometimes

¹⁴ Thus was the case in the period researched, modern sensibilities have moved this nomenclature away from 'official' main-stream use and the term junior or senior rates is more common now, although there is still a general understanding of the term.

strained association between the two 'sides'. The themes of 'status and hierarchy' (Regan De Bere, 2003 p.95) recur relentlessly throughout analysis of military life and, although this is a perpetual theme, there is little written about the promotion of staff from rating (enlisted man) to officer status. This research will contribute significantly to understanding the transition between the two groups.

Whilst the difference between officers and ratings typifies their working relationship on a daily basis, it also demonstrates their position in wider society, reflecting the relationship between employer and employee and the class and cultural distinctions between the two groups. The classification of an officer as a professional man and as a superior in the organizational bureaucracy of the military reflects the role of the bourgeoisie in Marxist discussion of working relationships. According to Huntington (1956 p.17) 'the enlisted men subordinate to the officer corps are part of the organizational bureaucracy but not of the professional bureaucracy'. In opposition to the officer corps the rating is in an inferior, proletariat role and is not regarded as a 'professional' man. However, in a military context, all personnel are employed by the state to uphold national security and provide defence from both domestic and international threats. Goffman (1961 p.18) notes that these status relationships can be fraught: 'Each grouping tends to conceive the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter... untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending and highhanded'.

In military life rank holds responsibility; whilst ratings are specialists in the application of violence (Huntington 1956 p.11) - the firing of a missile or shooting of a gun - officers are the managers of violence- they give the orders for the action of the ratings. This is an important point as a professional officer is managing a workforce whose tasks may include the death of others; it is a huge professional responsibility without the ability to blame others. Whilst a rating can say 'he told me to do it', the officer has to take full responsibility not only for his own actions, but for those of his subordinates. As Goffman (1961 p.19) notes regarding institutional behaviour, 'characteristically, the inmate [rating] is excluded from knowledge of the decisions taken regarding his fate'. This emphasises the complete control that officers may have. The types of job undertaken by the two groups are historically quite different. As Huntington (1956 p.19) specifies, the enlisted man has a 'trade not a profession'.

Military identity is very complex and the 'military man' is not just a robotic individual trained for combat. The military officer has been said to offer a 'conservative realism' approach to his career and Huntington (1956 p.79) comments further on this:

The military ethic is thus pessimistic, collectivist, historically inclined, power-oriented, nationalistic, militaristic, pacifist and instrumentalist in its view of the military profession. It is, in brief, realistic and conservative.

There is therefore a complexity in military identity, both in terms of the day to day working life of the military man, but also in the way they see their career and function. When a rating moves to the ward room he must confront further this intricate balance between lower and upper deck and the relationship between the two. The complexities of the function of the rating and officer in terms of subordination and super-ordination, and how they make the transition from one to the other, have to be addressed.

It is important to note however, that although the difference between officers and men are profound, there is ultimately a unifying understanding of being in the Navy as a whole. There is a collective class consciousness where there is a 'fusion of all individual feelings into a common feeling' (Durkheim 1912 p.175), the flag of the Royal Navy – The White Ensign acts as an emblem that engenders a feeling of 'moral unity'.

This service identity reflects historic influences, and 'the service had a strong institutional identity which was at the heart of the navy's character. Sailors entered a unique community, with its own venerated culture and history' (Prysor 2012 p.126). This is reflected by Regan de Bere (2003 p.91) who embraces the idea of the 'naval man' identity (regardless of rank), and argues that 'naval life offers men a sense of identity and personal fulfilment, regardless of social backgrounds ...one theme is constant: being a naval man'. This comment highlights the independence of the field: it generates a strong sense of belief, in its participants, about its value.

The Navy can be likened to a religious group in the Durkheimian sense that the Navy is a clan and that the individuals within it have a 'bond of kinship' (Durkheim 2008 p.88) and a collective consciousness that guides members as they negotiate their Naval lives. These kinship bonds are obviously not blood ties but they are, nevertheless, deep and wide. Lang (1972 p.47) suggests that life in the military, 'can be likened to a religious order' in which members serve the nation rather than God.

The idea of service is a deeply engrained part of the military psyche and a serviceman may want to be promoted as a way of continuing his service and demonstrating his allegiance to the armed force. For some ratings or senior rates, promotion to officer is seen as, not only a conduit to upward social mobility and a higher status, but an expression of a desire to figuratively serve, 'a bit closer to God'.

Ratings considered suitable for promotion have usually reached a Senior Rate position, which is culturally aligned with the lower deck and does not hold the commissioned rank status. The promotion of the rating to officer may engender what Foucault would call a heterotopic deviation (Foucault 1994 p.5) where the individual's 'behaviour is deviant in relation to the required norm', and an inability to project 'officer behaviour' instantaneously may cause a crisis in the individual. The required norm is, however, difficult to define and may be something that has to be learnt. Not all newly promoted officers will have the embodied attributes physically and behaviourally to be absorbed into the wardroom without some effort to acquire them. Lahire (2011 p.176) suggests that

What the child, the adolescent... [and in this case military man] embody are not, properly speaking, 'social structures', but rather corporeal, cognitive, evaluativehabits – i.e. schemes of action, ways of doing, thinking, feeling and sayingthat are adapted to specific social contexts.

The specific social context of the lower deck is absorbed and propagated by each rating and its specific social context is very different to that of an officer lifestyle. The presentation of the military man draws upon a range of social and historical representations and is culturally and socially influenced; it is the embodiment of social and masculine forms that are expected of military men.

Whilst 'there is no doubt that (a complex range of) masculinities form a major element in the construction of military identities' (Morgan 1994 p.177), the military masculine ideal is another way in which the officer/rating divergence is demonstrated. Morgan notes that, due to the range of personnel and the dichotomy of both 'warrior and bureaucratic' mind-sets, military organisations are both 'contradictory and complex' (p.175).

The military man, whether rating or officer, is expected to conform to and uphold a specific style of hegemonic masculinity. As Janowitz (1946 p.96) notes:

Masculinity in Naval discourse then, includes peacekeeper/warrior identities, physical fitness and stamina, breadwinner status in hierarchical, patriarchal family formations, and macho social lives based on all male company, pseudo aggression toward other ranks and civilians, sexually laden banter and frequent alcohol binges.

However, the expected interpretation of the masculine ideal is ranked, or as Barrett (1996 p.130) states, categorised; ‘masculinity is embedded within an ensemble of social practices, symbols discourses and ideologies associated with the category of man’. This indicates that, with a change of ‘category’, in this case rank, a new manifestation of masculinity will emerge or need to be performed. Indicators of masculinity are played out in different ways for officers and ratings. Whilst officers are expected to be polished gentlemen, this is not the case for the ratings of whom a more ‘rugged manhood’ (Conley 2009 p.2) is anticipated in compliance with historic and traditional representations. Power can only be maintained by careful and thoughtful leadership which may appear to be of a nurturing nature rather than the more obvious power dynamic of observable commands and orders. This suggests that the newly promoted officer has to negotiate a delicate balancing act as he traverses from one ‘side’ to the other; the new officer has to ‘perform’ the different role required of him (Goffman 1959 p.28, King 2006 p.495), a role that requires observation and performance of a different masculine ideal.

The Implications of Rank

The rank structure is highly defined, both visually and socially, and is both formal and informal. Social cohesion is upheld by a multitude of rules and regulations set down in regulatory publications, engrained by training, and enforced by military law (Hockey 1986 p.3, Caforio 2006 p.13). Alongside the official differentiation there are the unofficial distinctions; personal, cultural and class differences supported by a conscious and unconscious operating field that both creates and defines the two groups. Hockey (1986 p.3) emphasises the distinction unequivocally: ‘the division between officers and men ... (is) so profound that it almost resembles the legally entrenched divisions between the ‘estates’ – nobility and commoners’. This situation is echoed by Colville (2004 p.21) who notes that; ‘officers and ratings constituted separate worlds of class related culture and

identity', and Janowitz (1964 p.179) argues that, 'the military community is based on sharp class consciousness'. It is this demarcation, and how it affects personnel making the transition from one to the other, that is the central theme of my research.

Ratings are expected to fully comply with orders given by officers within a hierarchy that is based on the subordination of others (Hinojosa 2010 p.179, King 2006 p.497) this is deeply engrained in the psyche of the rating, and creates an oppositional tension, as Colville (2004 p.21) recognises, 'ratings define themselves against officers'. The powerful nature of the hierarchical system is so deeply embedded that, to contest it, would be an extreme act. As Kovitz 2003 p.9) suggests, 'challenging rank is in the order of heresy'. Any provocation of the power system in the military renders it unable to function in the way expected of a fighting force.

Class distinctions and social injustices between officers and ratings were recognised as a cause of resentment during the Second World War (Pryor 2012 p.115, 129) and these divisions existed for the period of this study. These distinctions, psychological and social, endure throughout military service and need significant attention if a rating is promoted to officer. As, 'military organizational culture is based on a rigorous hierarchical system of subordination and super-ordination' (Wombacher & Felfe 2012 p.563), the rating – the one who is expected to salute and defer to an officer – has his world turned upside down on promotion as he becomes the saluted. The newly promoted officer is confronted by a personal change in his status; he is in the ascendant and is newly part of a group that is defined by its superiority over others. Harries-Jenkins (1986 p.257) invites investigation into the officer/rating relationship when he notes:

An important feature of the worker role image is the manner in which the identification of officers as 'military managers' and of other ranks as 'workers' encourages a critical evaluation of the officer-other rank relationship.

Any assessment of this relationship has to investigate more closely the differences between the groups.

i. Lower Deck Culture and Practices

Lower deck personnel have historically come from working class backgrounds and there were no prerequisite qualifications to enter the Royal Navy as a rating for the period of this

research. Post-war Navy entry into the lower decks was a simple test of physical fitness, aptitude and capability, and a simple application process. However, the rating cohort was not completely homogenous; indeed the participants in my research came from varied backgrounds and as noted by Lavery (2010 p.13), 'like its much larger land based counterpart, the working class, the lower deck is not always easy to define precisely'.

The types of jobs undertaken by ratings of the period under investigation were varied; some, such as stoker and mine clearance, required no qualifications apart from physical strength or innate courage. Others, such as radio or sonar operators, or signals operatives who are responsible for intelligence analysis, require some qualification in areas such as mathematics and science. For some ratings, the Navy and the training it could provide was specifically chosen as a route to social mobility. As Janowitz (1964 p.81) notes, 'It is generally the case that submerged social groups select technical training as an avenue of social mobility'. This indicates that many ratings fully understand the potential for advancement through the ranks of both the Navy and its mirrored 'rank' structure in civilian life.

Employment of ratings and the selection of potential officers from their ranks were somewhat arbitrary (Conley 2009, Howard-Bailey 1996, Pryor 2012). Many perceived the criteria of officer selection as dependent upon bearing and/or public school accent, and in later years the requirement of a university education. The selection criteria was seen unfair and for many, irrelevant:

I couldn't help feeling a little unhappy about the method of selection, for initial choice seemed to have been based largely upon paper qualifications. I did not see how a degree.... could prove that I would make a good leader of men.... (Davies, 1947 p.112).

Davies (1947 p.124) describes the ratings as the 'aitchless ones', a derogatory description with the implication that being 'badly' spoken was not compatible with naval officership. Swaffer (1946 p.59) notes that perceptions could be even more extreme, and from the perspective of the wardroom 'a naval rating seems to be regarded as a cross between an escaped convict and a lunatic'. This comment is reflected by Colville's (2004) observation that training establishments for ratings are based on correctional schools. Observations of what a rating was and represented were more or less uniformly disparaging and therefore indicated that a rating was not suitable for officer candidature. Reflecting this, Lavery

(2012) notes that: 'the typical naval officer did not believe that the average sailor of the lower deck was likely to make a suitable officer in any circumstance'. These views must be born in mind later in the thesis as they demonstrate some of the innate hostility to rating promotion that some of my research participants have faced.

The perception of ratings as inferior beings was in some ways sustained by the ratings themselves. On entering the lower deck the pervading culture and its place in opposition to the officer ranks helped to sustain the behavioural norms of the lower deck which, in turn, confirmed in officer's minds that their views were right. In other words, the lower deck 'attitude' created a glass ceiling for those who lived there. As Lavery (2010 p.13) notes 'The lower deck can only exist in distinction from its superiors... [historically] known as the quarter deck, or more generally as the officers'. The rating habitus impedes them from believing they can enter the officer field.

The lower deck has a very distinctive atmosphere and ambience and a new rating is quickly acclimatised to its customs and activities. The lower deck is a unique habitus where behaviours are learnt and disseminated; as Pryor (2012) notes, 'collective identities were built on shared experiences and on tribal loyalty'. This learnt behaviour is hard to avoid because 'there are few groups and societies that have more restrictions on their freedom of movement and action than the lower deck of the Royal Navy', Lavery (2010 p.13). The nature of on-board life and its existence within the framework of the total institution (Goffman 1961) makes it very likely that each individual on a ship will begin to cultivate and assimilate the conduct and behaviour that is the norm for their group.

The learnt behaviour of lower deck personnel can be seen by senior officers as problematic and a contributory factor in their unsuitability for promotion. As Lavery (2012 p.28) notes:

Naval officers believed that a man (after three or four years) had spent too long in the Service on the lower deck ... (and would be) influenced by the lower deck outlook during his impressionable years at sea... and was too old to acquire that breadth of outlook and spirit of service necessary in an officer

Lavery repeats this sentiment in another book:

Fundamentally naval officers did not believe that men who had joined as boys straight from the elementary schools.... (who) had spent several years taking in the culture of

the lower deck, would ever be suitable to become naval officers. They had been 'influenced' by the lower deck outlook during their impressionable years at sea (Lavery 2008 p.77).

It is not only officers who view members of the lower deck as unsuitable for promotion. Tribal allegiance plays an influential part of the rating psyche and many ratings would not consider an attempt at promotion. As Lavery (2008 p.77) recognised, 'lower deck solidarity did not encourage men to put themselves forward'. Ratings are not only predisposed to their own social group they 'regard all those who hold rank as outsiders' (Hockey 1986 p.81). This solidarity is part of the identity creating process. Naval ratings of the period of my study joined the navy at an early age, some as young as fourteen years old and most under the age of eighteen. For many, the trauma of leaving the family home and joining the Navy would have been offset by the homeliness of the lower deck and the camaraderie of those that lived there. This mutual support of each other would have helped to consolidate a feeling that the environment was difficult to leave. As Dovey (2005 p.28) notes, 'the habitus is closely linked to the phenomenology of 'home' ', and in the Navy the mess deck replaces and becomes home.

Lower deck socialisation ensures that ratings start to develop a rating identity and they begin to assimilate with lower deck culture with its many overt and covert idiosyncrasies; the rating of cultural representation becomes the reality. As Devos & Banaji (2003 p.165) argue, 'stereotypes about social groups have a profound impact on the implicit self'. This comment aligns with the idea of Cooley's 'Looking Glass self' which is a framework within which the absorption of rating identity by individuals is, in turn, displayed to others, demonstrating their 'ratingness', their 'jolly jack' ¹⁵ persona which is derived from a wide range of cultural forms, such as films and novels and is then re-disseminated by each new cohort. The fact that ratings are a subordinate group is likely to enhance this consolidation of identity. As Devos & Banaji (2003 p.168) argue, a strong in-group bias is frequently found amongst 'members of a lower status group', and they suggest such groups need to project a 'stronger social identity'. In the case of the Navy it represents the difference between a

¹⁵ Jolly Jack is a colloquial term used by naval personnel and also commonly used by civilians to describe a lower deck sailor. This term was first used in the Georgian period and continues to be used. Other similar terms are Jack Tar – a lower deck sailor, and Jack Speak, which describes the use of a slang language used by naval personnel.

‘collectivist and individualist’ outlook. The rating corps has been specifically trained to have a collectivist approach whereas officers are expected to have a degree of autonomy.

Group absorption is internalised by individuals so that their personas reflect their understanding of what it is to be a rating (Cooley 1902); and being a rating is oppositional to officership and all that it signifies. As Regan De Bere (2003 p. 92) notes: ‘The identity of a man is contingent on the social situation and the particular type of discourse that assigns the meaning of ‘being’ to him at that particular moment in time’.

There also exists a fundamental psychological barrier for some, a lack of confidence or a feeling that they have no place in the ward room. The presence of the familial and historical past, in feelings and practices, can be more powerful than explicit rules. Ratings feel that they do not belong in the higher echelons and that they belong ‘below deck’, and that somehow they are not worthy of the title of officer. For those who lack the cultural capital required of the ward room, this deficit can have a debilitating effect on a rating who would otherwise be a suitable candidate for officership.

Some senior rates choose not to go for promotion because they do not want to be ‘tainted’ by the title of officer. In the Navy, the senior rate is a prestigious role that is the result of years of training and considerable professional knowledge. Whilst these rates are not commissioned, their role does not come with the implications of an incompetent upper class fool who has no innate skills apart from manners and knowledge of etiquette.

ii. Officer Embodiment

For direct entry officers the ward room offers a very different environment and mind-set, an ambience of genteel respectability combined with an assumption of authority over others, and for many a very real innate feeling that they are somehow pre-ordained to lead. Colville (2004) likens the officers mess/ward room to a public school where the mores, customs and behaviour perpetuate the ‘officer ideal’ which, in turn, reflects middle/upper middle class professional lifestyles in civilian life. Direct entry into this milieu is by the officers' selection procedure that Caforio (2006 p.257) describes as ‘that of a public competition based on educational qualifications and test performance’.

At the time of writing, direct entry to the Royal Naval College Britannia¹⁶, currently requires 180 UCAS points and, although this was not the case for the period I am investigating, there have always been baseline academic qualifications required. However, much less quantifiable are the non-academic credentials required, which, according to Caforio (2006 p.257) have 'no parallel in the selection made for other professions'. An example of this is the way that officer candidates are evaluated on 'Bearing and appearance - carriage, smartness, poise....personal magnetism' (Caforio 2006). These qualities are looked for alongside good physical, medical and mental health. However, there are intangible qualities required for officers that may only come with what are seen to be the essential classed behaviours. These manners and actions are often considered to come with good breeding. Lane (1985) describes well, the ethereal nature of officer 'flair':

Style was the mysterious substance, bequeathed by birth, improved by breeding and filled with practical content by absorption and observation of the milieu.

These other perceived competencies are less palpable and harder to measure, but, bearing in mind recruiting officers will not only have a list of personal attributes to look for, they will also be looking for a re-embodiment of themselves; they will have the self-assurance that they are the ideal officer and will look to replicate themselves. As Colville (2004 p.41) notes with regard to Britannia training college for officers it 'internalises many of the socio-cultural components of upper/middle class gentlemanly identity'.

It is therefore very difficult for a rating to enter the world of officership if he does not have, or is not seen to have, these indefinable qualities; there is also a degree of consummate snobbery as Lavery (2011 p.179) maintains, and hostility to lower deck mobility was nothing to do with a rating's ability or not to do the job but:

It was the naval officers themselves who were strongest in their opposition to lower deck promotion...They did not want to mix socially with men of lower origin.

The officer corps in its desire to maintain status enforces the strict demarcation of men, the system of stratification in the Navy requires more rigid adherence to market- place based class divisions. Many beliefs or desires about who belongs where operate at a tacit,

¹⁶Royal Naval Britannia College (RNBC) is the officers' training establishment in Dartmouth where all officers are trained in the contemporary Royal Navy. Some of officers in this research trained at other establishments such as Greenwich.

semi-conscious level and ratings equally observe group bias which is why promotion from one group to the other is complex.

Super-ordinate groups have such self-belief that they are sure that 'people like us' are the best to continue the tradition of naval officership. Such confidence do these officers have that some were convinced that the lower deck wanted 'to be officered by gentlemen of the upper and middle classes' (Lavery 2011 p.180) and that it was fortunate indeed if your officers were 'real gentlemen by birth and breeding'. Most Naval direct entry officers of the research period I have studied, have come from middle, upper middle and even aristocratic backgrounds (Pryor 2012, Howard Bailey 1996, Conley 2009). Recruitment into the officer corps has followed different patterns over the last three centuries but there is a recurring theme of needing men who have the embodied capital represented by terms such as 'bearing' and the 'right' credentials. Twentieth century recruitment carries the historical baggage of staffing officers from the higher social classes as Lavery (2011) acknowledges:

The gap between officers and men greatly widened during the long years of peace, and for most of the nineteenth century it was virtually impossible for a member [of the lower deck] to rise to commissioned rank.

This is echoed by Pryor (2012 p.115) who observes that:

Promotion from the ranks of experienced sailors of the lower deck was never truly embraced by the admiralty..... A strong discrimination remained.

The relationship between the two groups is critical to the overall success of the military force and good working relationships are essential. As Hockey (1986 p.1) notes 'Social cohesion is a precondition for success'. It is however, difficult for two groups that have differing positions to maintain relationships with ease; as Lin (2011p.47) maintains

heterophilous (actors with dissimilar resources) interactions demand effort, as interacting partners aware of the inequality ... need to assess each other's willingness to engage.

This can cause suspicion, caution and an inability or unwillingness to interact with ease. Therefore to move from one group to the other create considerable tension for the individual.

Visual Manifestations

The visual manifestation of rank and rate is replicated in no other industry, business, or aspect of life in such an overt way as in military service. Police forces have a rank structure but the diurnal life of police officers is not so heavily saturated with the minute nuances and overt daily displays of rank observance. The visual demonstrations of naval rank are wide ranging and all encompassing; they include the clothes worn, accommodation, work environment and services available to staff such as servants (which were available during the period studied) .

On joining the Navy the new recruit is issued with a uniform which provides an instant demarcation between him and all other personnel. This uniform provides an indicator, not only within the Navy and other armed services, but also to the outside world, of the wearer's social standing. Rodger (2004 p.325) affirms that 'uniform has social as well as professional value' and this is reflected by Woodward (2002 p.75) when she says, 'clothes carry considerable weighting in the representation of identities'. The Navy dictates what clothes are worn at work, and by whom, with a strict uniform dress code. The wearing of military uniform is the starting point of a complex system of rank-related performances that are dictated by military laws and guidelines.

The wearing of uniform ensures that all members of the service recognise who they are in relationship to other personnel and, consequently, position themselves instantly on seeing other members' badges of rank. Diurnal military life is a constant negotiation of ritual, ceremony and custom. For example, the rating has to salute an officer (when both are wearing caps) whenever their paths meet outside of a building, even in a public space; this can sometimes be witnessed in Portsmouth and other naval towns. The officer is expected to return the salute; this recognition of each other is anticipated by both parties and the procedures for it are laid down in guidelines issued on joining¹⁷

The uniform clearly displays the rank of the individual and both ratings' and officers' uniforms come with their own symbolic meanings and capital. As Prysor (2012 p.127) notes: 'the famous bell bottoms of the rating and the officer's tailored suit were visible representations of the Royal Navy's culture and historic identity'. The uniform clearly

¹⁷ New recruits are issued with the Naval Ratings Handbook which contains instructions for saluting.

marks the social relationship between both parties and reinforces ideas of superiority in one of the incumbents and inferiority in the other; it is 'the most explicit means of differentiating between ranks, classes and departments' (Pryor 2012 p.127).

Hinojosa (2010 p.180) suggests that the uniform is useful to both parties as, 'individuals find purpose and meaning within institutions partly because they can access the symbolic and material resources for constructing meaningful identities'. The uniform is used as a symbolic tool to make sense of their own existence, both in the armed services and as an indicator that they are not civilians. My research suggests that both rating and officer find considerable personal pride in the wearing of their uniforms, so much so that one of the issues that ratings promoted to officer have found difficult is when they have to rid themselves of their square rig, or senior rates uniform and first put on the officer's uniform.

The officer's cap badge is representative of the crown and is evidence that the officer is commissioned by the monarch to undertake military duties. The rating is fully aware of the representational function of the cap and it is sometimes used as a way of managing difficult interactions with officers. If a rating has little or no respect for a particular officer who may be in some way difficult, the representational function of the cap badge provides an avenue for transference. As Davies (1947 p.65) vividly portrays:

'Remember, yer the lowest form of 'uman life. Always salute anything with an officer's cap badge..... remember yer really saluting the uniform, not the man, so even if you 'ate the bastard it don't make no difference...'

Whilst the uniform demonstrates the place of individuals in the scheme of things, there are, as Woodward (2002 p.75) describes, other 'grand signifiers of collective identities'. Whilst all members of the Royal Navy acknowledge the importance and significance of the White Ensign, the Navy's flag, other signifiers exist for each group or layer within the service. Significant items such as badges of rate, seniority and branch, position individuals. This can also be said of the buildings, parts of buildings or ships that they work in. Grand signifiers are not only visual; in the case of the Bosun's call¹⁸, ships bells and bugles are used to give auditory signals and their specific calls are known to all in the Navy, and are used to give orders, for example, 'hands to divisions' or 'to stand to attention'. Other naval

¹⁸ The Bosun's Call is a type of whistle used to convey orders.

signifiers include the bugle- used in ceremonial events such as Remembrance Day and the drink rum- a signifier of the naval man¹⁹ (figure 11), the symbolic relationship between the Navy and rum can be seen below – these rum companies use the Navy's White Ensign flag as part of their image.

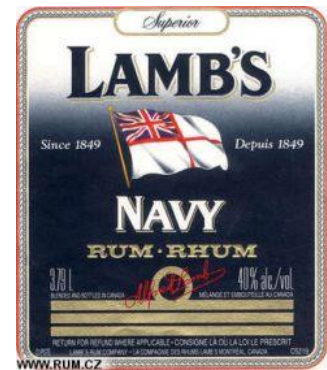


Fig. 11

¹⁹ The 'tot' is the colloquial name given to the ration of rum issued to personnel on a daily basis. This was ranked; officers and senior rates received neat tots and ratings had it diluted. Stopped in 1970, it is still handed out on special occasions, such as the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

i. The Geography of Rank

In the same way that uniform visualises the social demarcation of ranks, so too do the areas that Naval personnel live and work in. Military establishments, including ships and submarines, have defined areas for different personnel, what Bourdieu (2000 p.124) called 'socially ranked geographical space'. Whilst Higate (2003 p.xiv) states that, 'space and place, ground and land, domain and terrain of the nation (are) geographies of the military', the spaces of operational theatre²⁰, training, and day to day work are ranked and not unrestricted to all personnel within their confines.

Military establishments are often a complex collection of buildings which have specific uses for different types of work, and the ranking of space is prevalent particularly in social spaces such as dining, recreational and sleeping areas. It is impossible to separate the habitat from habitus. As Dovey (2005 p.285) states, 'space frames social practice...The social divisions and hierarchies of the habitus become evident in the ways space is divided'.

Space allocated to ratings is much more restricted and confined when compared to that of officers. Although Foucault (1984 p.2) suggests that, in the appropriation of space there are accepted beliefs regarding demarcation; 'for example between private space and public space', military space breaks these rules. In a ship, sailors sleep and live in areas which are public and some have other functions as work space. For example, ratings have lived on mess decks with thirty to forty other men and it is common for submariners to have slept in extremely confined quarters alongside weapons systems in machinery and weapon spaces (see overleaf).

²⁰ Operational theatre (Theatre of Operations – TO) is a specific area within a theatre of war or an area which is a designated combat zone.



Fig.12 Ratings sleeping area in a 12(M) Rothesay class frigate ²¹



Fig.13 Ratings on submarines may have to sleep in weapons spaces, this man sleeps between two Spearfish torpedoes.²²

²¹ <http://www.leander-project.homecall.co.uk/Type%2012i.htmlType>

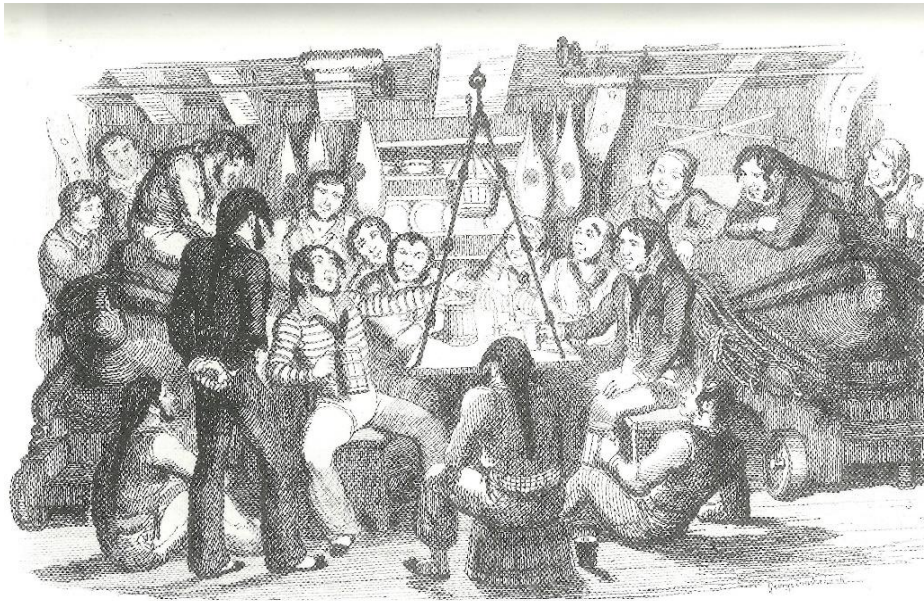
²² <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1318268/HMS-Talent-Five-days-aboard-Britains-silent-warriors.html> 09/10/2010

The system of rating/officer segregation is seen to be beneficial to both officers and ratings. Both sets of accommodation are out of bounds to the other group, therefore providing space within which the group can maintain their identity and, in the case of ratings, they are not under the observation of officers. The mess deck provides a relatively stable environment; strict protocol and implicit rules about behaviour and conduct in the mess, developed over years of naval practice, create an unchanging and constant setting in which the rating can live. For some ratings who had come from unstable family backgrounds this was welcome and it assisted in the assimilation process.

However, the mess deck is what Foucault (1984 p.6) calls a heterotopic space; that 'is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several sites that are in themselves incompatible'. Mess deck expectations of naval laddishness and 'jolly jack' behaviour lay alongside alternative expectancies of job proficiency, being ready to serve, and even to die in service. The mess deck as a place to express idealistic naval masculinity in terms of physical strength, drinking ability and heterosexual sexual prowess, is also a place where men share pictures and anecdotes about their families and loved ones and discuss personal matters such as marital and other problems.

The historical influences in mess deck culture that have grown through three centuries of naval life ensure that the mess deck and its culture functions as a subfield (Bourdieu 2000) in which the sailor operates. The field is sustained by generations of men despite changes in technology and design. The sailors involved in this research lived in the mess and, although separated by time, are connected to previous generations having inhabited this heterotopic space. Generations of sailors create and recreate the rating habitus. The pictures overleaf illustrate the operational field of the mess, its movement through time and the way it is integral to the creation of the rating habitus²³.

²³ This enduring connection between sailor and mess is extended by the affiliation the sailor has to his ship, this is vividly illustrated in a recent article in the Times newspaper. See appendix 7.



21. Saturday night at sea. (Two 'messes' unite for their weekly jollification.)
 From an etching by Cruikshank in the National Maritime Museum

Fig.14 A mess deck on 19th Century War Ship ²⁴



Fig.15 The junior rates mess on the submarine HMS Alliance. 1950s ²⁵

²⁴ A mess deck on 19th Century War Ship. By George Cruikshank in the National Maritime Museum. Lewis (2004)

²⁵ <http://warships1discussionboards.yuku.com/topic/5178/Royal-Navy-minor-news-thread?page=67#.WBEsZS0rKrA>

Space allocated to officers is very different. The physical spaces given to them are considerably bigger and more comfortable. Expectations of behaviour and conduct are quite different to the mess and officers have their own codes of formal and informal interaction. These codes, like those of the lower deck, have strong historical influences and are also aligned with aspects of behavioural expectation in public schools and social spaces, such as golf and 'gentlemen's clubs' (Colville, 2004). These fields of operation and the separation of officer from rating are turned upside down in an operational capacity as officers and men have to work closely together, for example, in an op's room or on a submarine where rank is observed but interactive practices are more negotiable due to the unique confines of the working and living environment.

Naval heterotopias - spaces both physical/geographical and metaphorical- include ceremonial events. Everyday a naval establishment or ship has colours, evening colours (sunset)²⁶ and, on some occasions, divisions. These occasions are filled with ritualistic symbolic exchange with a chain of saluting from rating, via senior rates and junior officers, to the commander. The space between men on a parade ground is laid down and choreographed in drill manuals; the most senior officer is separated from the lowest ranked rating by a chain of intermediaries, including senior rates and junior officers. This physical and psychological distance is, on some occasions, enhanced by placing the most senior officer on a podium ensuring that all others have to look up to him. As Weber (1948a p.188) emphasises, 'status distinctions are then guaranteed not merely by conventions and laws but also by rituals'. It is here we see a more explicit manifestation of the structure of the Navy field. In these spaces, all participating have been through what Foucault (1984 p.7) would call, 'activities of purification'. Everyone in the military has undertaken the 'rites and purifications' of initial training and the eradication of the civilian persona and the constructing of a new military identity has taken place. By doing this they can access 'the heterotopic site [that] is not freely accessible like a public place' (Foucault 1984 p.7). Any heterotopic space has a 'function in relation to all the space that remains...This function unfolds between two extreme poles'. The successful intersection of the lives of ratings and officers is essential to the effective functioning of the armed force. The members' understanding of their position in the spaces within which they live and work upholds this status quo.

²⁶ Colours/Evening Colours are shorty daily ceremonies at the beginning and end of the day.

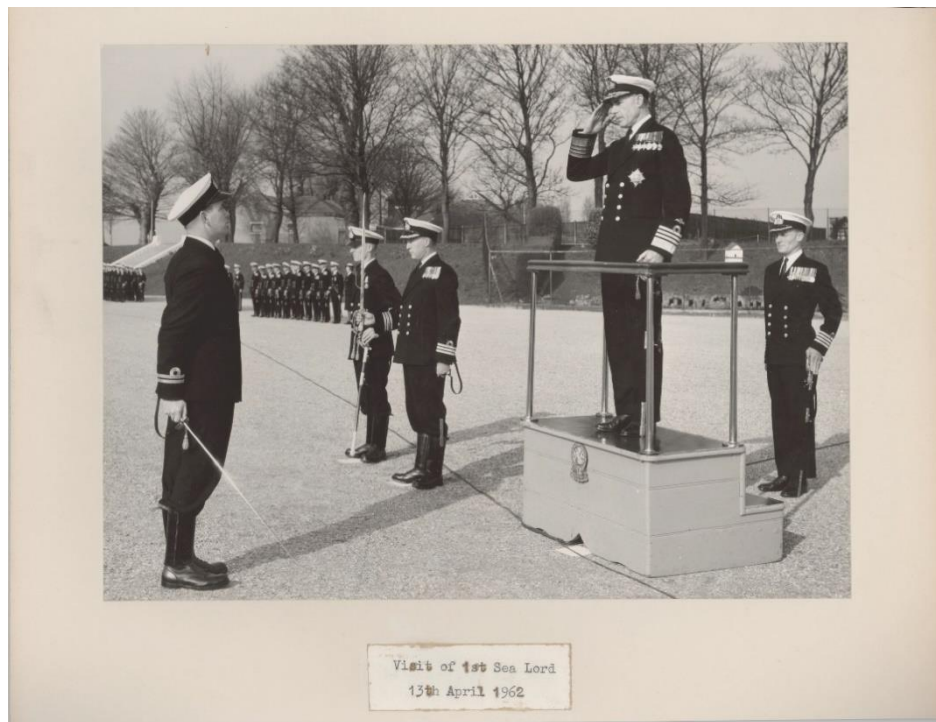


Fig.16 & 17 The Ranking of Space²⁷



²⁷ Photographs by Kind Permission of Lt Commander B.Witts MBE RN, curator of the museum at HMS Excellent.

Social Cohesion

To ensure effective military capability and successful outcomes in the operational theatre there has to be the social cohesion of troops. This requires considerable effort from the military in terms of formal training and drills (King, 2006 p.495, Hockey, 1986 p.23) and the military depends extensively on the bonding of personnel to maintain a unified fighting force that may, at times, have to undertake life threatening duties. As Hockey (1986 p.1) states, 'Social cohesion is a precondition for success'. A critical aspect of these unifying practices is the reliance on male bonding and comradeship as training is undertaken. Training defines and forms military life; it propagates and disseminates the rank structure and other military characteristics as a way of achieving a force that is able to undertake its duties.

Mutual cooperation and understanding is key to the success of military units, and Wombacher & Felfe (2012 p.557) argue 'sense of community is a cornerstone of military organizational culture'. The Navy is a large community of people²⁸ and it is important to note that the community consists, not only of those who serve in the force, but, as is widely acknowledged, it extends to the spouses/partners and children of serving personnel. The sense of community is important as Wombacher and Felfe (2012 p. 557) acknowledge, there is a 'psychological sense of community' and sense of 'social identification' in the Navy. Along similar lines Higate (2003 p. xiii) argues that 'military organisations provide social and psychological resources for the reproduction and changing of individual psychologies'.

Wombacher and Felfe's study (2012 p. 558) considers a whole crew approach, and notes that there are 'anchor points to which sailors' sense of community might be psychologically tied'; these anchor points include the mess deck where Colville notes of the lower deck, that there exists a 'vibrant working class culture and identity'. Lower deck culture is a widely recognised feature of Navy life (Lavery 2010, 2011, 2012, Lewis 2004 p. 85, 175), and its association with the working class is noted by Lang (1972 p.66) as a highly defined habitus in which sailors propagate and reiterate the ethos and character of sailor life. It is a place for bonding and camaraderie where a rating can escape the watchful eye of an

²⁸ The size of the Navy varies according to requirements, during the Second World War manning numbers increased to 825,000 people. It has been considerably reduced since then. For example, during the period of the Falklands war in 1982, in which some of the participants in this research served, there were 43,000 men including Royal Marines. Current number of serving personnel is 29,470 people.
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/491388/20160111 - RNRM Situation Report rounded .pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/491388/20160111_-_RNRM_Situation_Report_rounded_.pdf)

officer. Pryor (2012 p.132) notes that, 'collective identities [are]) built on shared experiences and tribal loyalty'. As has already been discussed, this tribal loyalty is expressed in opposition to the officers, although ultimately it accepts their authority.

The shared experiences of ratings that are living in close confines have a familial core. The mess deck replaces home, which as Woodward (2002 p. 49) notes, '(has) two dimensions...the geographical, spatial, territorial location...and the private domestic arena of home'. Military life, especially shipboard life, sees these two dimensions intersect. On mess decks the minutiae of private domestic life, i.e. washing, eating, masturbation, writing home, and all other aspects of close living with others, takes place in a territory allocated to the ratings; these things cannot be undertaken in other areas on the ship.

Ratings bring to their new home their personal experiences which Woodward describes as 'meanings attached to where we have come from'. Many sailors have photographs and mementos from 'home' and alongside these, every member of the mess will bring their ways of understanding how to conduct themselves, how to eat, how often to wash and how to interact socially. If anyone is not compliant with the generally accepted norms of the deck they are told clearly how to conform. Ward room culture, on the other hand, is taken at face value, a more rarefied and 'cultured' environment which a rating never enters (unless he is a steward) and where there is virtually no social interaction between officers and ratings, indeed it is positively discouraged.

As Hockey (1986 p.4) notes, 'the most common basis of intra-organisational conflict is that between superiors and their subordinates'; it therefore follows that if a promoted officer has to reprimand ratings with whom he had previously shared a mess deck, there is the potential for resentment and wider crew disharmony. Conversely promoting ratings from the lower deck, whilst potentially being problematic, can be good for crew cohesion. Young ratings are more likely to be responsive and have respect for officers who have 'done their time'. The promoted officers, having an understanding of lower deck life, can provide relevant and pertinent guidance and approaches to subordinates that transcend the 'mosaic of subcultures' existing in an 'insulated occupation....that fully conforms to the differentiation perspective' (Caforio, 2006 p.239). Grint (2005 p. 53) agrees with this idea and suggests that, although the Navy has this highly defined structure of officers and men, it is not detrimental to the overall aim of the force as it provides, in some ways, a degree

of autonomy for each group. The whole is 'sustained by the groups themselves rather than being forced upon them by super-ordinate officers'.

It is, however, vital that the sub groups can work together in agreement and that there is mutual cooperation; rigorous training received by all ensures that, as far as possible, this is the case. As Caforio notes (2006 p. 239), 'the subcultures are only pieces of the whole'.

Although rank differences are part of military life it is worth noting the comment of Taylor, (2012) who observes that 'the life and functioning of a warship has more the quality of a community than perhaps any other military unit'. Therefore, whilst shipboard life upholds the conventions of a hierarchical community it is never forgotten that all members of the community have a mutual dependency on each other. The safety and welfare of all those on board is inter-reliant on everybody being able to undertake their job, and in times of emergency, reliance on emergency procedures being carried out by the whole crew is paramount in the preservation of life.

i. Training Ratings

Training is the bedrock of military life and its methods and style have been developed over many years in order to provide what the specific service feels produces the best results. The ultimate goal of an armed service is successful armed combat and this requires a particular set of skills on behalf of the individual as well as a total skill set for combat units such as a Naval ship. Training for military life is not easy and the Foucauldian concept of the 'crisis heterotopia' (a place in which individuals are in crisis 'in relation to society') constitutes a space of personal conflict where the progression of adulthood takes place in new and unfamiliar surroundings, Foucault (1984 p.4) observed that 'military service for young men' was an example of this.

Training for ratings and officers is different. Whilst for ratings it is about subjugation and the creation of a subservient persona, for officers it is empowering and the end result is a presenting culture that is seen to be that of a super-ordinate and prestigious group.

The starting point for ratings is to eradicate any traces of civilian identity. This is not the same with officers' training. Officers' training is more aligned to moulding the existing person into a naval officer persona which utilises the individual's bearing and manners. In a sense officers' training is a continuum of their personality and perceived qualities, an

encouragement to be a leader and utilise leadership qualities. Conversely, the rating is the recipient of a subjugating process that turns the individual into a 'military man'. In training for a military career, this process is extreme and all encompassing:

He begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations and profanations of self.

His self is systematically ...mortified (Goffman 1961 p. 24)

As Goffman emphasises, the trainee must make a 'clean break with the past' (p.24). Training takes place in an isolated community and trainees are not allowed to exit the training establishment during the process. For junior rates this training is a place that helps to create a new adult identity aside from their families and all previous socialising processes. As Lang (1972 p. 67) notes, 'emancipation of youths from family control usually coincided with induction'. Initial training is therefore an opportunity for a new recruit to create an identity, and he may even lie or exaggerate in the process of reinventing himself.

The segregation of the trainees from civilian life helps to create a new and unified group of people; as Hockey (1986p.21) suggests, they are the subjects of 'organisational socialisation'. Hockey continues by stating that the task of the training establishment is to replace the presenting culture with one that is 'appropriate to the military way of life'. Training helps to form new friendships and 'interpersonal ties' that 'serve primarily the inductees' social and emotional needs' (Lang 1972 p. 67).²⁹

Initial training includes instruction in a range of Navy socialising activities, such as how to prepare and wear the uniform, the learning of ranks and rates, how to interact with officers and senior rates, and military discipline. The most visual aspect of training is drilling. Drill is the choreographed movement of sailors around a parade ground; it is extremely repetitive and has to have considerable time allocated to it. These movements include those for 'marks of respect', with and without weapons, such as saluting by hand or presenting arms, and they are embedded in a chain of seniority. Drill is usually taught by a senior rate who will, when the squad is ready, present them to an officer. Durkheim's notion of mechanical solidarity suggests that social cohesion in a society is created by 'collective rules and social

²⁹ This initial training is currently described as follows; "training ranges from the ten week initial induction for all new rating recruits to specialist training in areas such as seamanship, submarine operations, logistics, military and board and search skills.

<http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/our-organisation/where-we-are/training-establishments/hms-raleigh>

practices' (Morrison 2006 p.161) which 'act to bind all members of the group', and Collins (2005 p. 35) makes a similar point arguing that 'collective movements are signals by which inter-subjectivity is created'. This helps to explain the importance of bodily movements in creating 'social solidarity' or as Durkheim (1912 p.258) observes there is 'collectivity in motion'.

Drill is a military ritual developed over many years and has movements with historical elements. Navy drill is different to that of the other services and therefore is part of the process of creating a specific naval identity. It helps to create a cohesive force whilst, at the same time, visually and symbolically reaffirming the inferior role of the rating as the symbolic positioning of officers and men locates individuals in their social context. This collective subordination of the squad is, in turn, a unifying practice for the squad members. Marching and drilling are the ultimate forms of interaction ritual (Collins 2005), complying with the elements of: 'group assembly... barrier to outsiders...mutual focus of attention... and shared mood (for example in new recruits this mood may be nervousness)'. Collins (2005 p. 46-48) observes the outcome of participation in ritualistic practices such as this as strong group solidarity. This solidarity is developed both physically and psychologically in 'each other's bodily micro-rhythms and emotions'.



Fig.18 Marching both subordinates ratings and creates social solidarity.

There are other, unofficial cohesive practices which help to generate lower deck solidarity. For example fighting and brawling may have positive outcomes for cohesion and effective

fighting capability (Pryor 2012 p.32, King 2006 p.495). This form of bonding can occur between shipmates or between crews of different ships. In the close confines of ship life it is not unusual for fights to occur, as Pryor (2012 p.32) remarks:

Even bar room brawls between groups of sailors from different ships were sometimes seen as indicators of admirable social bonding.

Fighting provides a highly masculinized response to the claustrophobic stresses and tensions of shipboard life. Whilst individuals in a mess deck may be driven to brawling, group solidarity overrides individual disagreements and they may unite to fight sailors from other messes or ships. Obviously fighting is not a daily occurrence and, whilst it happens, is not a desired form of cohesive practice but as King (2006) notes, fighting amongst soldiers does not appear to affect capability in the battlefield.

Communication and Language

Ratings undergoing initial training will have instruction in basic military communication. They are taught how to address others and the Navy has specific 'communication drills... which encourage collective action and group cohesion' (King 2004). The Royal Navy has language and words unique to the service and, within that, there are specific forms of communication within each branch that are used whilst tasks are being formed. For example, when the officer of the watch gives a steering order on the bridge it is repeated by the helmsman. There are also rank-specific forms of informal and natural communication found in the service. Lower deck language has strong historical roots and is very much a signifier of mess deck life. These verbal communication devices include the following:

Spinning Dits.

Royal Navy sailors engage in a form of humorous storytelling referred to as 'spinning dits'. This is a ritualistic method of communication that has specific codes of conduct. The dit, as a narrative form, provides coherence to the lives of sailors and assists in the identity-forming process; stories 'provide human lives with a sense of order and meaning within and across time' (Rapport & Overing 2007 p.318). The sharing of dits allows colleagues to become part of the lower deck narrative, the stories are a cultural form that bonds sailors from generations together as part of the rating habitus thus enabling the creation of a

shared habitus. The stories transcend time and space as the sailors 'draw on a repertoire of existing narratives to produce their own' (Lawler 2008c p.43).

Jack Speak

Naval slang, known as 'Jack Speak', is a rich and complex language that is in day-to-day use, particularly on the lower deck. It is an alternative language with strong historical roots and uses a number of linguistic practices such as rhyming and the blending of words. Jack speak, or sea language (Berkman, 1946) can be a subversive tool and provides an oppositional context to the civilian community. Within the service as a whole it separates ratings from officers as it is more frequently used by ratings, and ratings utilise jack speak to define themselves against the perceived linguistic authority of officers. As Bourdieu, (1991p.94) suggests, 'slang is the product of the pursuit of distinction'.

Gossip & Gripping.

Another form of communication that functions on ships is gossip. Rapport and Overing (2007 p.171) note that gossip functions as 'a social fact, with customary rules and with important functions'. There are three divergent approaches to the function of gossip: 'functionalist, transactionalist and the symbolic interactionist'. These approaches are intrinsic in the distinctly different ways that gossip functions for ratings and officers. According to Rapport and Overing the functionalist approach helps to 'maintain group unity'; it endorses behavioural expectations and helps to uphold customs. They suggest that, by allowing differences to be debated and discussed 'behind the scenes', gossip allows agreement and solidarity to be sustained. Ratings use gossip in this way as an in-group regulator and safeguard against overt forms of discord. In addition to this the symbolic interactionist approach helps to explain the function of gossip as an identity forming process, and this is particularly significant for rating group cohesion as

Individuals can be seen actively speculating together on the nature of their lives...through everyday talk, cultural reality and social relations are continually being represented... gossip provides individuals with a map of their social environment' (Rapport & Overing 2007 p.172).

In the officer world gossip conversely functions in a way that aligns itself with the transactionalist approach. As will be seen in the Chapter on Officership, officers do not have the same set of relations with each other as ratings do. Officers are competitive and

more individualistic. In the ward room gossip is a way for individuals to be able to employ verbal tactics to enhance their own prospects; they use it to position themselves on a moral high ground or to demonstrate their own authority. Officers use gossip to push forward their own agendas and to increase their influence and potential for advancement.

The use of these linguistic tools as valuable group practice that helps to consolidate lower deck living and has a uniting effect. They are a natural function of group living and help to maintain the equilibrium. These communication devices are an essential part of the oppositional dynamic between crew and officers. Whilst officers use some of these tools, they are not so widely used and, as can be seen in the case of gossip – they are used differently. Direct entry officers trained at Dartmouth do not have sufficient access to this engrained culture to engage fully in its rituals and their operating field does not allow for practices which are seen to be for subordinates. Linguistic practices, such as those discussed, are aligned to working class cultures and exist as subcultural phenomena that not only provide cohesion but work as a barrier to keep others out. In a sense, these practices assist in the formation of heterotopic spaces which are difficult (and sometimes impossible) to penetrate.

The importance of recognising these linguistic practices cannot be underestimated; they are an essential part of the identity creating process and a component of corporeal presentation. As Bourdieu (1991 p.86) remarks, 'language is a body technique... (that is) a dimension of the bodily hexis'. Language serves to position oneself, and to be positioned; it functions as part of the embodied self and as a defining group characteristic in opposition to those who are not members.

The richness of lower deck communication forms helps to demonstrate the complexities of moving from the group; the practices provide very strong group signifiers and become part of the individual. These ritualistic practices, both corporeal and linguistic, have the consequence of embodying sentiments of group solidarity (Collins (2005 p.37). This solidarity is not only lost on promotion but new ways have to be learnt. For Bourdieu (1991 p.82) 'linguistic product is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in social space', and so membership of the rating group defined by these corporeal and linguistic forms has to be replaced by the new expectations of an officerly bodily and linguistic presentation and one has to achieve a new 'linguistic sense of place' (Bourdieu 1991 p.82).

Sport and Activities

All Armed Forces have a strong sporting culture. Sport serves a multifunctional purpose not only helping to sustain physical fitness but as a cohesive practice which consolidates esprit de corps and group identity. The importance of sport in the Navy is made clear on their website:

Sport and staying fit play a vital role in your life in the Royal Navy. The combination of physical education, sport and adventurous training is at the core of the physical and mental fitness you'll need for naval life. It means you'll hone your leadership, teamwork and self-discipline³⁰

Leadership skills are critical for ratings who have the prospect of promotion to officer and it is therefore not only desirable for a sailor to participate in sport, but essential. Sport and other activities, such as drama, provide one of the few areas in military life where ratings and officers socialise together; it therefore has a very important function as an egalitarian unifier. St George (2012 p.68) suggests the following:

There is no rank in sport. The best footballer on the park might be the youngest rating. He might have a couple of Officers, couple of senior rates playing on his side, but he's still the star footballer and he leads, it doesn't matter what rank he is.

A wide range of team sports are played and provide an opportunity for sport-related upward mobility as Taylor's (2012) correspondent remarks: 'rugby was increasingly played by ratings' thus implying that rugby, perceived to an officer's sport³¹, presented a place where ratings could participate in officer pastimes. It is also a place where the superiority of officers can be challenged; 'many... saw it as (an) opportunity to get some of their own back on the officers'. This method of getting even with officers existed in contact sport such as rugby and the boxing ring where, 'there's nothing better than the thrill of thumping an officer' (Taylor 2012 p.14).

Participation in sport and activities such as drama³² provides a means to network with other personnel from across the ranks and branches, and is therefore an essential component in establishing a route to promotion. Knowing officers socially is desirable for potential

³⁰ <http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/careers/life-in-the-royal-navy/sport-and-fitness>

³¹ Relating to the fact that many officer have been to public schools where rugby is played.

³² For example in the Royal Navy Drama Society or establishment drama groups.

candidates for promotion as ‘institutionalised social relations...benefit individuals’ (Lin 2001 p.26). However, Lin goes on to say that ‘heterophilous interaction represents nonnormative ...interaction’ which suggests that there may be displacement of normal hierarchical boundaries for both sides as they put aside the norms of rank related boundaries for the duration of the mutual enjoyment of sport or drama.

Although providing an egalitarian way of mixing, some sports are rank/class skewed. For example, ‘running was one of the activities in which officers competed alongside the men but others like cricket, golf, squash and polo remained very much the preserve of the ward room’ (Taylor 2012 p.14). The ranked aspects of some leisure activities consolidates the ‘reproduction of dominant class values’ (Lin 2001) and can thus create a barrier for individuals who do not have the cultural capital required for participation. This deficit in cultural capital will, in turn, lead to a gap in social contacts – contacts that might play an important part in the promotion process. The Navy encourages all personnel to participate in any sport they wish to try and, as such, is a path to an increase in social contacts within the service, contacts who can not only influence the promotion process but who may also emanate officer qualities that can be picked up on and emulated.

Summary

In this Chapter it can be seen that military identity is a strong, all-encompassing condition that is primarily defined in opposition to civilian life. Military identity is unique- it is all encompassing both physically and psychologically and embraces all aspects of an individual’s work and home life. Military identity is multidimensional and complex. The military person will identify strongly with the armed service to which they belong, in this case the Royal Navy.

The Navy is divided into a hierarchical structure that has officers and ratings. Rank is an extreme and overt way of showing the hierarchical structure of the service and carries with it embedded cultures that define and propagate the concept of what an officer or rating is. The ideals of both groups are absorbed and embodied by individuals on joining and throughout training. Both groups exhibit in-group bias. The super-ordinate group wishes to perpetuate ‘officer like behaviour’ and to replicate itself as it knows that only those from its ranks have the right to be the ‘leader’. The subordinate rating group understands itself to be an oppositional group.

It has been seen that the visual manifestations of rank are everywhere in the Navy and 'space frames social practice' (Bourdieu 1989). Socially cohesive practices that create the rating are all encompassing; the segregation of the trainee from civilian life, the ability of the individual to create a new persona at a critical time of his life, the forming of friendships and working relationships that may, at times in the future, be life dependent fuse together to form a military identity. Interaction rituals such as drill, formal and informal communication methods serve to consolidate the hierarchical structure.

Chapter 3. Being a Naval Officer

In this Chapter I am going to investigate what it is to be a Naval officer, how individuals respond to promotion and how the role is performed. I am also taking into consideration the problems that can arise for military officers.

The Officer Ideal

In the section on Historical Context it was seen that naval officership is 'essentially ...aristocratic' as Hampshire (1971) notes:

With the entry of the Prince of Wales into Dartmouth the long and historic tradition by which members of Britain's Royal families have served in the Royal Navy is being carried on.³³

It would be imprudent to suggest that this has no effect on the Officer ideal and on the perception of what a naval officer is. The ward room is a place where the inhabitants may come across and be expected to socialise with, not only members of royalty but sometimes government ministers, visiting dignitaries and other members of the power elite.

As has already been discussed, there is considerable representation of naval officers in a multitude of cultural and artistic areas. More contemporary manifestations of the naval officer such as Ian Fleming's James Bond represent the recurrent themes of suaveness, cool and logical thinking under pressure and the ability to be a calm and calculating person able to end life if needed in an operational capacity. There is little deviation from this naval officer formula. It is in the shadow of these representations that the officer is both created and creates himself.

Academic qualifications and physical fitness have to be complimented by more ethereal qualities. The officer needs to demonstrate aptitude and talent for officership but these are subjective qualities. Those who decide whether a candidate has the qualities required

³³ Prince Charles was followed by his brother, Prince Andrew. The Royal naval heritage also includes: The Duke of Edinburgh, Lord Mountbatten, and Kings George V and VI who all served during the twentieth century; a number of other Royal Princes preceded them. The Royal connection with the Navy is strong and mutually affectionate and becoming a naval officer is seen as an ideal career for a young Royal.

are those who have already been deemed to have them, so there is a circular relationship and self-perpetuating element of officer recruitment. The officers semi-consciously deploy their knowledge of the field having a feeling for who complies with the requirements. Indeed, the officer recruitment process seems to be an almost deliberately designed form of social reproduction.

Weber (1948d p.254) recognised that 'military Leadership uses emotional means of all sorts...In combat, military leadership seeks to influence followers through inspiration'. Weber recognised that some individuals have innate qualities which transcend ordinary worldly human virtues, a charisma that can 'influence followers through inspiration'. Weber specifically refers to military officers as a status group that is cultivated as stereotypically prestigious, whose protagonists lead a highly defined style of life and that, 'for reasons of discipline, will have a strongly and rationally intended character' (1948d p.253). Officers are required to have a seemingly divine ability to get others to follow them, with their leadership never in question and with their decisions and judgments rarely examined. Historical self-belief in the divine qualities of the Royal Navy officer legitimizes their conduct and behaviour. As Weber states, charismatic authority is utilised to gain control over others:

Genuine charisma rests upon the legitimation of personal heroism ... Yet precisely this quality of charisma as an extraordinary, supernatural, divine power transforms it...into a suitable source for the legitimate acquisition of sovereign power by the successors of the charismatic hero (Weber 1948d p.262).

Charismatic authority therefore gives the officer a clear mandate to command and it 'continue[s] to work in favour of all those whose power and possession is guaranteed by that sovereign power, and who thus depend upon the continued existence of such power' (p.262). Charismatic qualities do, however have to be matched by a more practical skill; the officer has to be seen to be competent. Competence as perceived by colleagues, superiors and subordinates covers a wide range of skill sets, from management of people to demonstrating calm and composure whilst under fire or in an emergency. The military officer needs to be able to lead in the traditional and legal-rational sense (Morrison 2006 p.369-373), complimenting charisma with bureaucratic and legitimate authority as laid down by the state ,within which the Navy operates as a monolithic bureaucratic machine.

Apart from 'getting the job done', social intelligence, intellectual ability, decision making and forbearance are required and the officer must have the confidence to trust others under his command. Competence includes the skill of delegation; a good officer must be able to 'define tasks for subordinates' (Lang 1972 p.72) and to engender respect from subordinates. In a military environment delegation is essential in all aspects of work and sometimes entrustment of tasks has to happen at short notice and under pressure. Delegatory skills may not come easily to a newly promoted officer who may feel it is 'not right' to tell others what to do.

The Officer as a Professional

To understand the predicament of the officer promoted from the lower deck it is important to look at the role of officer as a profession.

Military officership at the highest level can position an individual at the heart of 'the British national power structure' (Elias 2007 p.5), sometimes with direct contact at ministerial level, as well as with members of the Royal family, business leaders and other members of the power elite and in his role the officer is considered to be a professional (Janowitz 1964).

In the nineteenth century, as the job evolved and required more training, it became easier to see the commonalities with civilian professional jobs. The military officer became a professional when professionalism itself developed across a number of areas of employment. In the nineteenth century professionalism evolved with:

- 1/ the elimination of aristocratic prerequisite for entry
- 2/ the requiring of a basic level of professional training and competence
- 3/ the requiring of a minimum general education Huntington (1956 p.39)

Being a professional historically referred to lawyers, doctors and clergy but came to be used for military officers as they became specifically trained in terms of leadership, technical ability and knowledge of the job. Weber (1948b p.222) recognised that increased bureaucracy in the military 'developed the professional standing of armies' and as had been seen in historical context, the move away from grace and favour appointments to examinations enabled the transition from the lower decks to the officer corps by the introduction of certificates of competence.

The criteria for professional status suggests that, apart from being in a professional organization, the individual has to possess special expertise, and more germane in this case, acceptance of social responsibility. The implication is that it is much more than a job, it comes with a defined social duty and accountability to others outside of the profession. Elias (2007) suggests that, 'professions stripped of their gear and apparel, are specialised social functions which people perform in response to...the needs of others—they are...institutionalised sets of human relationships'; therefore, professions exist to serve the community, in this case the nation state within which they exist. Huntington suggests that there must be a feeling of 'corporateness' (1956 p.10) and that

The members of a profession share a sense of organic unity and consciousness of themselves as a group apart from laymen. This collective sense has its origins in the lengthy discipline and training necessary for professional competence, the common bond of work, and the sharing of unique social responsibility.

There is certainly 'organic unity' in the Royal Navy and the conditions, as noted above, all apply, but what is the actual job of a naval officer?

All military officers have a very 'unique responsibility' in that, unlike any other profession, they have the ability to direct others to engage in warfare. Although military jargon is rich in euphemistic language about 'security', 'defence' and 'support to wider British Interests' a look at the current website for the armed forces³⁴ eventually lists amongst the missions, 'to contribute forces for...conflict [and] 'strategic attack'; in other words there is sometimes a need to kill people.

As Lang (1972 p.58) notes, 'military structure is geared to one overriding requirement: the uniform direction of troops in battle'. This is echoed by Huntington (1956 p.11) who states the following:

The function of a military force is successful armed combat. The duties of the military officer include:

- 1/ the organizing, equipping, and training of his force
- 2/ the planning of its activities

³⁴ www.armedforces.co.uk/mod/listings/10002.html

3/ the direction of its operation in and out of combat.

These skills are being undertaken and it should be borne in mind that the officer is working for an organization 'whose primary function is the application of violence [this] is the peculiar skill of the officer' (Huntington 1956 p.11). The burden on the officer can sometimes be great as he orchestrates and coordinates combat. When a rating is promoted he takes on this new extra liability of potentially directing warfare. Whilst the ranks within the rating structure come with varying degrees of responsibility they do not have the same power as that given to officers. For some it is assumed that the rating, of whatever level, does not have the aptitude for the job of officer:

The enlisted men subordinate to the officer corps are a part of the organizational bureaucracy but not part of the professional bureaucracy. The enlisted personnel have neither the intellectual skills nor the professional responsibility of the officer. (Huntington 1956 p.18)

This comment demonstrates the problems confronting ratings as it suggests that, even if they are promoted, they might be viewed as lacking what they really need – intellectual capacity, which is often regarded as an innate attribute. These views underlie the outlook of some superior officers and other recruiting bureaucrats and can have a negative effect on perceptions of promoted officers. It is however, possible to develop officer skills, even when recognisable training is not given. The research findings described later in this work recognise how new officers quickly absorb the atmosphere and character of their new position. Alongside any official officer training program a new position becomes internalised and the habits and behaviours of the newly entered group are acquired.

Absorption of the officer ideal, combined with training, can engender an officer-like demeanour, but the officer needs to have the skills to command and gain the support and loyalty of those who work for him.

The skills to undertake this role include those already noted, which are less tangible leadership qualities such as; charisma, personal magnetism and, above all others for an officer, confidence. For those educated in the Independent school system or from higher social classes this will be a quality instilled from early on; however, the less well educated

or poor find this difficult. A lack of formal education and coming from a lower social class has a profound impact on confidence levels and there may be an internalised psyche of subordination. A lack of experience in related involvement of leadership skills, such as sports captaincy or participation in confidence building extracurricular activities, such as the Duke of Edinburgh scheme as provided in the independent system, mean that officers promoted from the lower deck may come to the workplace with considerably less confidence in themselves and in their belief that they are able to lead.

Charismatic and leadership qualities come alongside the actuality of the job itself, for example, the high level scientific and mathematical skills that an engineer officer may need. It is important to note that, as new technologies move on rapidly, the nature of the specialised roles change. This has meant that, in some branches, there is slowly becoming a less clearly defined line between the professional and the enlisted man. For example, the weapons and marine engineering branches require that ratings have a high level of technical knowledge and understanding. There is therefore a smoother professional continuum in the engineering branch and there is, to a degree, a professionalization of some rating jobs which results in a higher number of engineers seeking promotion to officer status than in other branches.

The moving on of warfare technology will be reflected in promotional outcomes. Grint (2005p.283) describes the relationship between technological advancement and personnel requirement as being 'resemblant of Darwinian survival', and the Navy's manning response to new science has to reflect warfare evolution, as Grint (2005p.283) explains:

At its simplest, technological determinism considers technology to be an exogenous and autonomous development which coerces and determines social and economic organisations and relationships; it appears to advance spontaneously.

However Grint (referring to Gallie) suggests that whilst technology is relevant, it is unlikely to be of 'substantial importance in explaining the degree of social integration of workers'. Applied to the Royal Navy, which is heavily reliant on new technologies for a very different type of warfare to the one that existed in Nelson's time and is ever evolving, there may be a merging of the upper and lower deck skills in the work place. Promotion itself may also occur in a different format. The changes in technology create a bureaucratization of the officer role and the idea of the naval officer as a 'cultivated man' (Stewart 2013 p.39) is replaced by the tested and certificated in a Weberesque transition. Thus it is clear from this

brief discussion that the role of the naval officer comes within the requirements for professional status. Therefore, the rating being promoted not only moves within the naval hierarchy but is newly classified as a professional recognised by civilians in the world outside of military confines.

Performing the Role

It can be seen that officership is a profession which requires both technical and academic knowledge, leadership skills and the elusive quality of charisma. These skills are quite different to those required of the rating or enlisted man, so how does the promoted rating negotiate his new position in the organisation? It is clear that an individual would not be considered for promotion if he were not considered academically and technically capable. An individual may feel confident about their ability to do the job; however, the pitfall may be the other less tangible qualities that they feel they lack.

The first reality of officership is when the new officer receives his new uniform. This outfit represents a very different world than the previously worn rating or senior rate uniform; it signifies superiority, expectation and the officer 'ideal'. The obligatory behavioural patterns of the officer are now required and the performance begins:

Once the proper sign-equipment has been obtained and familiarity gained in the management of it, then this equipment can be used to embellish and illumine one's daily performances with a favourable social style (Goffman 1959 p.45).

Goffman recognised the importance of the signifiers of rank relationships in the military calling them the 'forms which separate superior from inferior, and so help to establish an unscrutinised ascendancy' (p.74). The highpoint of officer signage is the wearing of a sword. Although it is now purely a ceremonial object, it is, as Raven (1959) suggests, an 'emblem of military authority'; the sword contrasts against the senior rates' cutlass and the ratings' bayonet as a 'symbol not only of might but of leadership' (Raven 1959)³⁵. This

³⁵ The sword signifies the Commission from the Crown. Senior rates carried cutlasses during the period researched. In the contemporary Navy Senior rates and ratings carry SA80 rifles with fixed bayonets in a ceremonial setting.

symbol has meaning both to the wearer and those who view the holder of this visual signifier.

The act of wearing the uniform launches the performance but, for some, it is not easy if the performer does not believe in himself. The personal struggle which might quite reasonably cause a high degree of ontological disruption to settle into the new self, is influenced by two stimuli, one external, and the other internal.

The first is that we believe what we see, or, as Goffman (1959 p.28) suggests: observers of a person are 'asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess'. Therefore a rating who was not known to the officer before promotion, will see the officer and assume that he has all the attributes he believes are the domain of the rank. As Cooley (1902 p.216) explains, 'the self that is most importunate is a reflection, largely, from the minds of others'. If the rating thinks a man in an officer's uniform is an officer, then the officer will respond in an officerly way.

The second, but not so immediate stimulus, is that internalisation of the promotion process will ensure that the individual gradually absorbs his new identity and whether, consciously or unconsciously, picks up the habitus of officership.

Cooley describes this as 'the process of evolution' and suggests that a 'man will find himself at home in the world into which he comes' (p.284). For promoted naval officers this evolutionary process will vary in length depending on what they bring to the field. An instinctive feel for ward room life may guarantee a quick transition, especially for those who carry enough cultural and social capital to situate themselves, almost without thought, into the habitus and field in which they now operate.

For some, however, the process may be extremely slow or may never fully happen. Individuals experiencing upward mobility may be divided by the ambiguity of their situation and experience an internal conflict that Bourdieu would call the divided habitus or habitus clivé (Bourdieu 1999 p.511, 2004 p.100). Social mobility can be problematic, causing the individual to have 'both social and psychological problems' Friedman (2014). The disruption of previously normal patterns of life, socially and at work, can create feelings of alienation and dislocation and the individual can feel a sense of being in an indeterminable position.

The role of a military officer provides an opportunity for a theatrical performance, as the wearing of costumes and what Goffman (1959 p.79) calls 'scripting... of the routine', such

as in military ceremonies or the motions set in place in a court martial. These allow for a degree of dramatic expression (there cannot be a more intense performance than that of the drill commander - usually a role for a senior rate to play). In the case of the promoted officer, the passing out parade as a newly appointed officer will be a defining moment in the individual's career and life and represents the ultimate recognition of the new position.

Promoted officers who have the confidence to act the role will give the impression that they embody their rank and all that it entails. However, the performer may be hiding an inner lack of confidence and he will need to struggle with the dichotomy of his situation:

When the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society (Goffman 1959 p.45).

The officer will adhere to the required visual aspects of the role, but he may well also be hiding an inner self-doubt as to his ability to fully undertake the role.

Officers are given what Goffman (1959 p.56) calls 'tacit assistance from the establishment in which he is to perform'. In this case the Navy openly and compulsorily provides training in etiquette and conduct on a course colloquially known as 'the knife and fork course', where they are instructed in ward room protocol in matters such as using cutlery, passing the port, toasting the Queen and other ceremonial and social events. The officer cannot however, be given the cultural capital they need to make small talk or engage in ward room activities and pursuits that reflect the pastimes of the middle classes. Being asked if you play golf, or like rugby or football, or where you ski, can expose what is sometimes a miniscule difference but which exists nevertheless, and it may therefore expose the individual who might be seen as a fraud by others and by himself.

Linguistic capital is an essential component of the officer ideal, and as Bourdieu (1991 p.21) suggests; 'there is a concordance ... between linguistic habitus and the demands of formal markets'. The linguistic habitus of the well-educated often puts them in a stronger position to negotiate the daily interactions with others with ease, whether these interactions are formal or informal. This is problematic for some newly promoted officers as they need to adapt their existing linguistic habits to those of a different group. This can create a stressful or nervous response that results in a corrected language that does not quite fit in. In desperation to fit in to the new environment, the individual may over compensate in his

attempt to 'speak right'. In discussing the phenomenon of linguistic 'hypercorrection' (Labov 2006) Bourdieu suggests that self-corrective processes in language use can appear pretentious and that individuals make an attempt to 'appropriate... the properties of those who are dominant' (Bourdieu 1991 p.83).

The officer, in his performance of his new role, needs to capture the corporeal manifestations of officer bearing; he will absorb some of the nuances of bodily hexis and there can be a gradual alteration in personal stance, walk, posture and linguistic practice. Transformation into the officer requires considerable conscious and unconscious effort and can create psychological stress.

Whilst conformity within the environment is seen to be necessary and, as Cooley (1902 p.262) suggests, non-conformity can induce 'pain and inconvenience', attempts at conformity can be the burden of the promoted officer. As Cooley continues, 'conformity... is a voluntary imitation of prevalent modes of action'. It is a form of self-preservation that ensures an individual 'fits in'. Cooley (1902) suggests that conformity is a cooperative action and that social mores and behaviours are absorbed by members of a group who imitate, consciously and unconsciously, predominant behaviours. Performance of the role can however be problematic.

Problematic Aspects

The officer needs to have a hold over their subordinates who will, in return, have the expectation that their leader will be right, even if it is sometimes plainly obvious that some leaders are not up to the job. The problem of the 'divine' right to lead is challenging, as Morrison (2006 p.365) notes: 'this psychological connection to the leadermay induce the followers to suspend any critical judgements regarding the abilities of the leader'.

The promoted officer needs to confront a profound change in his position as he takes up military command. There is a need to 'change habitus' - from a predominantly working-class situated position, and a change in the field in which they operate - from the mess deck to the ward room. The rating habitus has little in common with the ward room. Ratings are used to being compliant with officer orders and are not required to show flair or free

thinking. The class- aligned traits of the working classes are the domain of the lower deck and subservience and obedience to authority are the fulcra upon which rating life is lived. In contrast to this, officers, especially those who have been well educated and used to inhabiting an upper middle class field, are encouraged to be independent thinkers and a degree of unconventionality is not only allowed but encouraged. The officer ideal, based on a public school model of originality and independent thought, requires a different approach to role performance. Rating outlook would be unlikely to include or allow for a degree of originality or unconventionality, and certainly not the contravening or giving of orders.

For the Naval officer there is a conundrum as the figurehead of Naval officership, Nelson, was famously a maverick who often disobeyed orders or went against the perceived protocols, both in his personal and working life, yet officers must also be compliant and seen to be following orders from senior officers and government officials. The maverick officer is ultimately still seen to be the pinnacle of officer style; however, it has been eroded in recent years by the bureaucratization of military life. Contemporary writing on military officers bemoans the current approach of 'yes men' culture by officers desperate for promotion who behave in a compliant and uninspirational way to comply with the bureaucratic list-making nature of the promotional process. As The Independent newspaper (Smith 2015) reported, Former Special Air Service Commander Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Williams who made the following observation,

One of the reasons that our senior military leaders were so poor in Basra, Helmand and London was that many of them had got promoted to those leadership roles based upon their ability to do good staff work, or to be adept at playing compromise politics in the MoD as opposed to demonstrating the ability to lead men, machines and organisations in tough times.

Alongside similar lines, General Sir Nicholas Carter agreed that the military was too full of 'pen pushers and yes men' (Smith 2015).

These comments, however, are not a new observation. In Rose's (1946) paper on Social Structure in the United States Army he laments about the incapacity and dullness of officers, 'who refuse to take responsibility for the simplest decision' and who 'promote their subordinates according to their length of service and willingness to do nothing but carry out orders'.

There is therefore a dichotomy for the officer who should show initiative and aptitude with a hint of genius and panache, but whom, at the same time, is expected to conform to bureaucratic and service expectations. The modern bureaucrat or specialist replaces the charismatic leader and, as Stewart (2015 p.39) describes; 'with the rise of specialisation, that which is gained in terms of efficiency is at the expense of a loss in personal culture'. Subordinates might have an expectation of charismatic authority in their leaders and those who do not have it are not seen to be performing their role. Charisma is not confined to the socially elite, as Cooley states clearly that people of all social classes can have the skills required of leadership; 'Personal ascendancyis not confined to any class, [it] exists in an infinite variety of kinds and degrees' (Cooley 1902 p.295). There is however, much that can go wrong, and for those who serve under them.

Unwarranted belief in the divine right to command can create considerable problems and certainly historically, aristocratic or upper/middle class heritage leads to a problematic self-belief that causes an individual to display ignorance of his own failings. The assumption of 'right to rule' by those at the top of the hierarchy can lead to overconfident displays of behaviour. Rose (1946p.361) describes the rank system as a 'medieval tradition of rigid separation of castes, of hierarchical control, of absence of moral accountability for the upper social strata'. The suggestion of a lack of such accountability is disturbing as it does not bode well for the good management of people. Cooley (1902 p.295) reflects a similar concern:

It has frequently been noticed that personal ascendancy is not necessarily dependent upon any palpable deed in which power is manifested, but there is often a conviction of power and an expectation success that go before the deed and control the minds of men without apparent reason.

Cooley describes as 'fascinating' the innate feeling that a man should feel himself to be a 'leader' with sometimes no palpable reason other than their self-confidence and self-image.

The combination of innate self-assurance and lack of answerability is a toxic mix which can be problematic for the service. In juxtaposition to the self-belief of some leaders will be the acceptance of others that they cannot lead and should follow those whose right it is. As ratings will expect their officers to be competent they may follow blindly. In the military, rank signifies all, especially the ability to lead. As Dixon (1994 p.223) says:

the expectation of superiority in a leader by those who are led will increase the tendency to follow him...if you believe that someone is better educated and knows more than you do, then you will be prepared to follow his lead.

Dixon (1976) suggests that class-associated psychological perceptions of inferiority create a self-subordination:

For years this simple truth has been confirmed by the attitudes and behaviour of the ordinary soldier towards his officers....it was the case that since they were drawn from a socio-economic class that was vastly inferior to that of their officers, the rank and file took it for granted that their officers knew more than they did and were in a very real sense born to lead.

As he has spent his rating career believing that the officer uniform signifies competence, this comment illustrates clearly the embedded psychology of rank and demonstrates why an individual promoted from the lower deck may question his own ability to lead. The problems created by the phenomena of self-belief are balanced in an equal but oppositional classed way; direct entry officers – ‘real’ officers from the middle and upper middle classes - enjoy an innate self-perception that puts them in the ascendant position. Their possession of

an effortless and uncontrived capacity for radiating self-assurance, good manners and a courteous if paternalistic mien towards those of inferior station...[ensures that] the rank and file were able to look up to such men as being of a superior caste, omniscient, omnipotent, natural, preordained leaders.... Dixon (1976)

The superiority of the officer is an historically accepted part of the military habitus. To Huntington (1956 p.30) the idea of ‘natural’ military ability is well established:

The accepted eighteenth-century theory of generalship centred about the concept of the natural genius. Military command was like an art like music or sculpture which required inherent talent. Military competence could not be transmitted or learned..... the aristocratic theory that some were born to command and others to obey.

These comments illustrate vividly the idea of some intangible, ethereal requirement of officers that is innate and cannot be learnt, as well as the consequent problem for officers from the lower deck as they attempt to embody the officer ideal created by aristocratic authority.

Superior breeding was not necessarily good for the British military and as a consequence, 'the expertise of her (Britain's) military leaders was severely affected by the aristocratic and social considerations which continued on her officer corps until the twentieth century' (Huntington 1956 p.53).

Officer training developed into a factory that manufactured ideal officers; as the recruitment from the aristocracy declined and the pool of men was drawn from a wider social net, the military made huge efforts to maintain officer 'standards'. Dixon (1994 p.223) remarks that the natural coming together of ranks was deliberately stopped and maintenance of separate classed performance was deliberately contrived:

Confronted with the necessity of recruiting its officers from the section of society that would have been unthinkable in years gone by, the military has made what it regards as the best of a bad job by insisting that, since officers must still be gentlemen, where no gulf exists between those who lead and those who follow this must be artificially inculcated by training.

Due to the constant performance of complex manoeuvres and choreographed interactions, with considerable emphasis on rank such as saluting and drilling, the training appears extremely strange to outside observers. Officers in training start to understand the lived experience of officer superiority and the receipt of a range of deferential signals from subordinates begins to be taken for granted and helps to consolidate the knowledge that a rise in social position has most definitely occurred. Raven (1959 p.43) describes vividly the peculiar nature of some of these transactions, observing that 'boys in uniform with sticks, swords, rifles or sub-machine guns will perform a volume of intricate movements... for your especial benefit'. He goes on to describe in detail the differences in treatment of officers and other ranks in the provision of daily necessities such as food and transport, demonstrating the breath-taking difference between those provided with a 'dining car' and those given bags of 'stale sandwiches and rotten tomatoes'. These actions contribute to a formation of individual understanding of what it is to be an officer and can endorse an already engrained feeling of self-importance. Dixon (1976 p.224) remarks on the problematic outcome of the military force's deliberately instilled division of officers and 'men':

To the detached observer these quaint antics may seem ludicrous, boring or even faintly embarrassing. However, there will be others so emotionally incapable of distinguishing between compliments paid to the abstractions of rank and commission and those paid to themselves as people that they will actually enjoy these gesticulations. ...these mandatory conventions... may, like the effects of even the most transparent flattery, provoke wholly unrealistic feelings of self-importance.

It is clear that there is, with good reason, a psychological response to deferential treatment that is internalised and accepted as sycophancy. Some officers see the flattery as being a genuine response to their own ability and right to be superior. Raven (1959 p.44) goes as far as suggesting that the 'Officers' claim to authority and command' is 'sinister' and, in his view, it was not based on professional ability but on the 'absolute and personal right to command'.

The perceived 'right to command', whether an innate self-belief or one that has been created through training, is no guarantee of professional ability. Generations of prominent figures in the Navy have expressed considerable doubt as to the proficiency of officers. Admirals St Vincent, Collingwood and Nelson all had doubts as to the ability of aristocrat recruits (Rodger (2004 p.514) bemoaning the deterioration of seamanship skills and the covering up of incompetence by cruelty and severe treatment of the crew.

Officer incompetence and inhumanity in its most extreme form results in a breakdown of expected behaviours and conduct, Taylor (2012 p.77) provides an example:

The Invergordon mutiny ushered in a significant change in officer attitudes, there can be no doubt that arrogance and thoughtlessness lay at the root of much disgruntlement and dissatisfaction on the lower deck.

Dixon (1976 p.289) was clear where the fault lay; '[the strengths and] the weaknesses of British commanders must be laid in part at the door of the English upper middle class system of education in preparatory and public schools'. This suggests that the very system that is supposed to provide the best officers is actually part of the problem. The fact that Dartmouth is based on the public school (Colville 2004) means that it perpetuates the worst characteristics of elite educational institutions.

There is therefore a range of issues for the rating, promoted to officer, to confront. The milieu of the direct entry officer is one where the internalised belief in the divine right to

lead is complimented by a cultural and social demeanour that is difficult for a promoted rating to match. Having been in a subordinate role and more likely to come from a lower social class (Lavery 2011, 2012) the newly promoted officer may be lacking in the embodied and psychological attributes of the direct entry officer. These deficits may engender a complex response to promotion.

Coping with Transition

The promoted rating could, in some circumstances, be in a positive position. Whilst officers are expected to radiate an array of officer qualities, the 'aura which surrounds rank' is, according to Brotz & Wilson (1946), problematic and 'places responsibility upon men who are less qualified than their subordinates'. The promoted rating is certainly more qualified in his ability to understand and connect with lower deck colleagues. He may also have served several years and gained much experience and knowledge in his field of work, unlike a direct entry officer who may have to take charge of men much more experienced and knowledgeable than himself.

Clearly individual psyches are the critical element in the response to promotion. Training and preparation for officership is, on the whole, carefully orchestrated by the Navy, and there is considerable consistency with the educational provision given to potential officers (this theme is discussed further in the Conclusion).

Educational training and the facilitation of necessary academic qualifications are very robust and the 'knife and fork' course provides instruction in the social expectations that exist in the ward room.

However, there are much more subtle and elusive expectations that underlie ward room life. These are at the core of this research and their indefinable quality presents considerable hurdles to some new officers. Huntington (1957 p.18) clearly saw the problem of extended time on the lower deck, arguing that 'the education and training necessary for officership are normally incompatible with prolonged service as an enlisted man'. Lower deck behaviours absorbed after time in service are seen to be difficult to eradicate. Apart from corporeal and behavioural manifestations of lower deck habitus, promoted officers may find it difficult to negotiate their new position in relation to others, creating 'status dilemmas' (Brotz & Wilson 1946) that are difficult to negotiate. A desire to maintain

friendships with rating mates might be frowned upon by senior officers and suspicious to ratings and senior rates.

It is difficult for all officers to get the right balance. An officer who demonstrates a generosity and a 'consideration for the needs and desires for his men' (Lang (1972 p.69) may well fall foul of superior officers who expect to see a more authoritarian approach and who may view empathy as a weakness. This perceived weakness may also be seen by subordinates who may attempt to subvert normal diurnal practices or undermine ship or establishment procedures over the course of time.

A successful outcome is dependent on how officers approach their job. Officers who are overbearing and/or too dictatorial are not respected and consequently may have a challenging response. Lang (1972 p.68) believes that, 'a leadership climate that [is] 'persuasive or equalitarian' has a much higher success outcome with 'minor disciplinary infractions' such as going absent without leave or argumentative response to orders being reduced greatly, whilst also seeing a rise in the number of men who stay in the service and re-enlist.

The new officer needs to ensure that he negotiates a balanced approach to his new position with regard to his interaction with his subordinates. This is essential, not just to promote good working practices, but for the mental health of the promoted officer. There will be an 'emotional pull of class loyalties [that] can entangle subjects in the affinities of the past' (Friedman 2015) and ratings may still feel very much aligned with the lower deck.

Summary

Being a naval officer is a prestigious, professional occupation based on an officer ideal that exemplifies a gentlemanly charismatic figure that has its roots in an aristocratic/upper middle class background. The officer has to combine charismatic authority with bureaucratic legal-rational authority. It is expected that a naval officer will have a range of intellectual and corporeal attributes. Role performance requires considered character presentation that is different in nature to the expectations associated with being a rating. Although many characteristics may be absorbed some innate attributes cannot be eradicated. Officers promoted from the lower deck have an instant change in status and move to a new operational field, therefore they need to adapt their habitus as much as possible to fit in.

Chapter.4 The Significance for the Family

Marrying Into the Navy

Although this research investigates the response to promotion by individuals in the Navy, it is essential to discuss and take into consideration the responses of other family members as the promotion will have a profound effect on the promoted officer's family. This effect will be a contributory factor, both to the success of the promotion, and to the ability of the officer to manage and accept his new identity.

In 1948 a book was published by Molly Passmore, telling her story of being a Naval Officer's wife in the 1930s. This book was figuratively entitled, 'In His Wake'. The metaphor of the wife being in the turbulent wake of a ship following her husband around the world is a poignant illustration of what it means to be a Navy wife. When a woman marries into the Navy she becomes subsumed into 'navy life'. The discursive framework within which she finds herself is an all-encompassing lifestyle that dictates the location of the husband and, by extension, the family. There is also an influence on a range of family decisions such as where 'home' is, children's schooling and how the maintenance of relationships with friends and family can be sustained. Many naval personnel choose to marry in uniform and such weddings may have an element of naval ceremony such as a guard of honour. Uniform weddings are unequivocal statements of the couple's future life together in the Navy. The Navy sits alongside the new in-laws as an extension to the wife's existing family network.

As Janowitz (1964 p.175) notes, 'the military profession is more than an occupation; it is a complete style of life'. A lack of separation exists between work and home life that is not found in other occupations. The functioning of the military as a 'total Institution' (Goffman 1991) means that, although the employee is the one directly employed by the military, by extension, the spouse and children are directly affected by any changes that occur in a Navy career. Many women feel 'personally involved in the Navy' (Regan de Bere 2003 p.97) and they embrace the institution, all of its traditions and values as De Bere suggests, they develop 'their own female service identities as service wives'.



Fig.19 Navy Wives marry into the Service³⁶

There is pressure to conform as a 'Navy wife' and there are strong expectations of conformity within a range of undertakings (Jolly 1987, Passmore 1948, Clark (date unknown) and Harrell 2001). Regan De Bere (2003 p.97) suggests that the following characteristics are crucial to the success of the Navy wife: an ability to complement and support the husband in his position, observance of rules and codes in relation to dress and presentation, the capacity to effectively manage domestic arrangements [while the husband is away], the ability to act as two parents during separation [allowing the serviceman to resume his role on return], the forming of friendships with other service personnel, particularly their wives. The expectations are great and, for this research, supporting the husband and observing the 'rules' of navy wifeship are particularly pertinent.

A military man is thought to be more promotable 'with a wife by his side' (Harrell 2001, Cerman & Kaya 2005) and for the period of this research, the force's expectation of the

³⁶ Photograph by kind permission of Mrs Vicky Cadwallader-Thornewill

wife is that she will be a compliant accessory to her officer husband. This compliance must come second to any other aspect of her life. For example, few wives have their own career and they must be seen to support and participate in military functions. Harrell (2001) suggests that when a wife transgresses and, for example, is not in attendance at military functions, it is detrimental to the officer's career as 'her husband [does] not have control of her actions and [it] inherently raises questions of whether he could control and command a unit of soldiers'. The suggestion is that the wife comes within her husband's command, although in many cases the husband is very reliant on the efficiency and skills of his wife.

Although the patriarchal nature of military life is well recognised (Moelker & Kloet 2006, De Bere 2003, Jolly 1987), there is an underlying strength to the service which is provided by the support and efforts of the wives. This is reflected in the personal success of an individual; length of service and ability to pursue the more demanding aspects of a military career are seen to be directly related to the support at home (Bourg & Segal 1999).

In addition to providing the household organisation, childcare responsibilities and other family necessities, wives hold an important role in maintaining the 'status positions of their husbands' (Moelker & Kloet 2006), and the success of the man's Naval career is partly dependent on the support and enthusiasm for the Navy that the wife projects. The status of the husband, in this case, his rank, is often reflected by the wife who 'takes on' her husband's rank/rate and positions herself, and is positioned by others, in this way. This 'shadow striping' is a widely recognised phenomenon, (Clark (date unknown), Passmore 1948, Jolly 1987). If a husband is promoted, the wife also takes a step up the social scale and she has to cope with the transition therefore, 'military spouses and children informally carry the rank of their spouse or parent, which includes guidelines for behaviour and pressure to conform' (Reinkober et al 2003, Jervis 2011).

As long ago as 1904, a United States Colonel, Dupuy, whilst noting the class and status consciousness of military personnel, was recorded as describing military spouses as, 'from Mrs General to the Corporal's Wife' (Janowitz 1960 p.179) in recognition that the wife shadows her husband's rank in the military community. Jolly (1987p.2) reflects this idea when she describes a 'social pyramid of wives' at the top of which is the 'Commanding

Officer's wife,' or, as Harrell (2001) describes senior wives, 'the grande dames of the system'. The implications of this are described by Jervis (2011) as, 'contamination', where wives are 'identified with their husband's job and rank'. This goes on to regulate the lives of military wives to a degree where there are expectations with regard to the wives' conduct and that their appearance be in accords with their wifely rank. The relationships between Navy wives are channelled by these demarcations and the inter-relationships between ratings' and officers' wives are cautiously negotiated within the rank framework. As Jervis (2011p.121) observes 'it remains unusual for the families of British Officers and other ranks to mix socially, either within their own homes or on military bases'. These social customs are not necessarily meant to offend and there is a tacit understanding by all involved that that's 'the way it is':

It is important.... As an enlisted man's wife, [you] understand and accept the relationship. There is nothing snobbish or antisocial about it; so from the beginning be careful not to be supersensitive or to carry a chip on your shoulder". (Janowitz 1964)

The wife, therefore, is expected to understand her position within the hierarchy of wives and should not expect equality with wives of other ranks, regardless of what social or occupational prestige she herself may have. As Jolly (1987) notes, this can cause resentment. This gendered and ranked discourse is part of naval family life and if accepted and embraced with enthusiasm, De Bere (2007) suggests that naval family lives are more satisfactory. Indeed, the patriarchal nature of military life means that 'wives are expected to derive pride and fulfilment from their own involvement in service life'.

The centrality of rank in military life is so overwhelming that the shadow striping of rank by wives extends to the understanding and internalising of identity of any children in the family. As Janowitz (1960p.180) points out some children are 'outranked by others'. Navy children will have a clear awareness of their father's position and its relationship to others in the service and the children will absorb and replicate the 'games' that the adults play. It will be seen in the analysis, that the rank reflection by the wife and children can be a potent force in the potential success outcome for the officer. The happiness and welfare of the family is as much dependent on their response to promotion as it is for the individual.

The military is very demanding on family life and its infiltration into all aspects of families' lives can be 'met with intolerance and dissatisfaction by military families' (Reinkober-

Drummet et al 2003). Separation of the family from the serving member can impact negatively on their lives, especially when the separation is for long periods of time and when the service member is deployed to operational theatre; this will compound any anxiety by adding the element of fear for their safety and welfare. These difficulties can be intensified if the family do not live near extended family and friends who are able to help with issues such as childcare and support. Wives are often mutually dependent on each other for support and this support is usually within their ranked positions. Rank also dictates the location of the home for those who live in married quarters, and the requirement to move house on promotion may have a negative effect on the ability of the wife to access her support group and friends; this may therefore counter the success of the promotion.

Navy Homes

The location of the family home may be a considerable distance from support and help. Naval families, like other military families, have to decide whether to follow the service man around from post to post or position themselves in accommodation in a specific area.

The Navy can provide family 'quarters' accommodation to all ranks but, like the accommodation on bases or ships for the men, there is a demarcation between rating accommodation and officer housing. These housing areas are distinctive and are graded for the rank that they are going to house, rather than the size of the particular family being housed. Many families choose to live in married quarters so that they can be together. In addition, particularly for ratings who are on a relatively low wage, these houses are a low cost option which is often welcome when bringing up a family. As married quarters are allocated primarily by rank or rate, your family home is a very visible reminder to everyone of your position in the naval hierarchy.

Dovey (2005 p.285) emphasises the etymological connection between habitat and habitus and states that 'social divisions and hierarchies of the habitus ... become evident in the ways space is divided'. In military family quarters these divisions and hierarchies are legislated for utilising strict rules for the allotting of homes.

The accommodation for ratings is in the style of small terraces of houses or small semi-detached homes. For example, in the married quarters (known as a patch) close to Fareham in Hampshire, there are approximately 450 homes; the houses are spread over a large area with grass areas for children to play outside. There is also a local primary school where approximately 60% of the pupils are from naval families. The ratings estate is not dissimilar to a well-kept local authority housing area and external and common areas are maintained by the Ministry of Defence estates management.

Officers' quarters are located in a separate area, sometimes a couple of miles from the patch. Officers' accommodation looks noticeably different. The estates are much smaller with far fewer houses. The houses are much larger and usually semi-detached or detached, depending on rank. Officers' quarters are often located in a more leafy part of suburban communities and are less conspicuous in the local setting. There is therefore a visual reminder of the social superiority that the officer and, by extension, his family, hold. As the purpose of this research is to investigate the response of the individual to promotion, the response of his wife and family is an essential component. Moving house is a stressful time for individuals and, in this case, the stress can be compounded by the ranked connotations.



Fig. 20 Ratings Houses on the 'Patch' in Fareham



Fig's. 21 &22 Officer Housing in Lee on Solent.³⁷

³⁷ It must be noted that many Navy families do not live in married quarters (Jessup 1996) and choose to live in their own owner occupied homes. Although this creates a geographical spread of Navy families, many of the issues to do with class and status endure. There are, in the civilian housing market, mirrored behaviours and expectations of ratings and officers. Navy family relationships will still be rank- defined and the material expectations will align themselves in this way. Many Navy families who live outside of married quarters live in clusters in 'Navy areas', such as those in Portsmouth and the Meon Valley and its environs.

As Naval families cannot accompany the husband/father on sea going appointments they are left without the serving member at home and this can lead to isolation and difficulties for naval wives.³⁸

When the family is promoted

When the rating is promoted it can be seen that his wife and family also move up the military ladder. For the wives of ratings and senior rates, promotion to 'officer's wife' can be extremely unsettling. The rating wife would have socialized with and lived in the same quarters as other ratings' wives. Her new status may mean that support networks fall away and, in some cases, even outright hostility can occur, as previously friendly wives are resentful or aggrieved by another family's success with promotion.

In parallel to this, some wives immediately embrace their new position in the wives hierarchy and withdraw themselves from the ratings' wives groups, taking on a new 'officer's wife' persona with enthusiasm for their new position on the social ladder.

However, when this cleavage occurs it can create a strain on the individuals, and the family as a whole, across a range of family affairs. The most obvious is if the family lives in married quarters and they have to move from a rating accommodation to a new officer's quarters.

As discussed above, because the ratings' and officers' housing is separate, the children experience differing lifestyles. This disparate lifestyle comes into question when moving from one situation to another.

The lifestyles associated with the two types of quarters can differ considerably. For example, on the ratings patch that I am familiar with, children play out in the common areas during the summer evenings and school holidays. They have a significant degree of freedom of play compared to children living in most British streets in civilian life. The patch is

³⁸ Some married quarters have a centre called the HIVE. "The HIVE Information Service is an information network available to all members of the Service community - serving personnel both married and single, together with their families and dependents as well as civilians employed by the Services.

Worldwide the HIVE Information Centres offer an extensive range of information on relocation, local unit and civilian facilities, places of interest, schools and further education, housing, healthcare facilities, employment and training opportunities. "

<http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/Community/Royal-Navy-Community/HIVE>

considered by parents to be a safe place as everyone knows each other and the quarters are frequently patrolled by the Ministry of Defence Police. Children conform to a code of conduct that is written down by the Defence estate management as well as informal parameters set by the expectations of residents of the estate. Bad behaviour will often be dealt with by parents on their own as the estate works as a unified and cohesive area where all parents are aware that transgressions from 'civilised behaviour' could mean that the military parent is grilled by the estate management or, in serious cases, reprimanded by their divisional officer or other authority.

On moving to an officer's quarters, a child may, at first, feel a sense of loss and alienation. They may subsequently recognise that expectations of behaviour and conduct are different, as too may be the social and play expectations. They may also confront, for the first time, families of a noticeably higher social class, and although they will not be able to pinpoint what the differences are, they will know they exist.

Some of their new friends and acquaintances may be educated in a different way, and 'if they are the offspring of 'officers and gentlemen' it is assumed that they will probably go to boarding school' (Jolly 1987 p.13), or certainly a good day school which is more likely to be in the independent sector. Expectations in terms of academic success and prowess in 'cultural activities', such as musicianship and horse-riding, may be very high. Even relatively small differences, such as the predilection for football amongst rating families and rugby in officer families, can cause a child to feel a sense of difference.

It has been discussed by Reinkober-Drummet et al (2003) that for children, particularly adolescents, aspects of military life can be problematic. Separation from parents, moving house and consequently leaving friends and extended family behind, and changing school are all challenging experiences. These anxieties may also surface when a child's father is promoted. If the child has lived on a ratings patch for most or all of their lives, to move house and have to befriend new people who may not necessarily have the same social background, lifestyle and understanding of life as them, can be disturbing.

Stresses on the family are exacerbated by the military and family both being demanding and 'greedy institutions' (Moelker & Kloet 2006 p.207, Jessup 1996 p.2). The military and the family require high levels of dedication that struggle for the full attention of the member. This conflict may be compounded by the transition in status from rating's to officer's wife and all of the new expectations that come with the rank of officer's wife.

Expectations of military wives are wide and varied; clearly she is the mainstay in the family home, especially if there are children. Whilst the husband is at sea or posted away the wife has the duty of maintaining the family home and ensuring family cohesion. On top of this, in some military communities, there will be extended expectations such as welfare and charitable work.

There are many uncertainties in military life, such as moving home, deployment, defence cuts and the potential danger to personnel serving in operational theatre. Promotion may create a new spectrum of anxieties, for example financial concerns. Although the new officer will benefit from a pay rise, it may be the case that the family feels an expectation to live in a more affluent way. For example, there might be pressure to pay for independent education or extra-curricular activities. Dress and presentational expectations of the wife will be different; she may feel obliged to extend her wardrobe to include items that conform to the officer's wife ideal.

Discussing that a husband's occupation dictates a wife's social class, Roberts (2011 p.41) shows that

analysis with large data sets have discovered that the husband's occupation is still, even today, a better predictor of the wife's politics and class identity than her own job.

This significant comment and its implication for military wives is profound and is reflected by Moelker & Loet (2006 p.219) who state that 'the military community serves as a surrogate family...wives usually do not have jobs... the status of the spouse is derived from the rank of their husband'. As many wives do not or cannot work, the embodiment of their husband's rank is a noticeable phenomenon.

Rating wives who do work are often employed in traditional working class, low paid positions such as domestic work, hairdressing, childcare and low-grade clerical work. As Roberts (2011 p.41) suggests, as the male has the highest uninterrupted earning capacity, his occupation is the one that 'has the most influence on the household's standard of living and the lifestyle its members can afford'. It can be seen that military life compounds this by influencing and even prescribing expectation, lifestyle and living accommodation by rank. There is a significant impact on the psychology of the wife as her dependence on the husband as not only the breadwinner, as Harrison (2003 p.80) notes 'almost all military

wives are made economically vulnerable by the vicissitudes of military life', but in addition the husbands rank dictates the way she is expected to live. Wives find it extremely difficult to go to work as the extremes of military life, particularly the frequent house moving, prevent career development (Jessup 1996). As Regan De Bere (2003 p.98) confirms, 'a number of women had withdrawn from labour markets in order to accommodate their housewife and mother identities'.

Expectation of the wife is not just a matter of compliance with dress and behavioural codes. It is often anticipated that the wife, in her support role, will undertake some voluntary and community work and activities. The transformation of the independent woman into the Navy wife complies with what Goffman (1961p24) calls 'role dispossession', where there is a destabilisation of an individual's perception of identity or who they are. The wife becomes socially and personally disorientated and unable to live her own life without the security of the naval identity and its patriarchal control over her life.

One aspect of the 'greediness' of the military institution includes an "appeal to total devotion" (Moelker & Loet 2006 p.2). This devotion is expected from the family as an extension of the serving member and may involve the wife as a 'co-opted' member of the service. As Moelker & Loet (2006 p.205) note, during the twentieth century the military moved from being a 'bachelor army' to one which included and extended to families. The armed services, finding these extended personnel difficult to deal with, had to find ways to include the 'outsiders'.

The unofficial inclusion of wives into the service is useful to the force. As Harrell (2001 p.71) suggests that, 'the military spouse situation provides an excellent case study of gendered roles and uncompensated labour'. Wives are co-opted in a number of ways. They provide mutual support to each other when their husbands are away and they provide social and child care support which would have to be provided by the military if they did not do it. They also present the face of the Navy in local community activities, such as helping out at local fetes and community events in the name of the Navy. At such events they may be fundraising for Navy charities and welfare organisations and giving the Navy a public, friendly face and, therefore, free publicity. Although some suggest that the demands on the wife increase with her wifely rank (Harrell 2001, Jolly 1987), Moelker & Kloet (2006) suggest that 'active engagement in volunteer action is the more likely when the rank of the wife's husband is higher'. It is often the case that those wives who give the greatest input

are often the wives of lower ranking men who take their position in the wider Navy family to heart. In juxtaposition to the higher profile officer's wife, lower ranking individuals, 'are more often totally devoted to the greedy institution'. Moelker & Kloet (2006) also note the following:

a remarkable regularity occurs with the phenomenon of greedy institutions: the lower the social scale status of the individual that renders services in the greedy institution, the more the total devotion. (Moelker & Kloet 2006 p.209)

They go on to describe some lower deck wives as 'fanatic volunteers' which illustrates their sometimes extreme enthusiasm. The reasons for this may be that the wife is trying to prove her worth in addition to supporting her husband by showing her loyalty to the institution. It may also be the case that the wife perceives that there may be something to gain by full participation and that her status will be elevated by her contribution to Navy life.

Whatever the reasons may be, it is clear that many military families are 'in it together' in all aspects of the life. The military family is renowned as being

deeply involved with military tradition... in data amassed from interviews and memoirs, one is struck by the extent to which women internalized the values of military honor and ceremony. (Janowitz 1960 p.189)

This comment suggests that many wives have a full understanding of the functions of tradition and ceremony in the Navy; embedded ideas around rank and status in the military are internalized and reiterated by successive generations of navy families.

However, the expectations of officer's wives are different. An officer's wife may be expected to entertain other officers and dignitaries, attend ceremonial events and to mentor and assist other officer wives in a welfare role (Passmore 1948, Jolly 1987, Jervis 2011, Harrell 2001). Sometimes an officer's wife is given a duty in a role that she feels ill-equipped to deal with, for example in family welfare, where a qualified social worker may be the more appropriate person to do the job. This arrangement suits the military as the wife is unpaid and easy to 'recruit'. Harrell (2001) notes that the expectation of the military wife in the United States services not only helps to 'preserve military culture' but 'reduces defence spending as the military does not have to buy in services'

It may therefore, be the case that there are financial incentives to continue the use of officer's wives in roles which would otherwise require paid specialists. The higher the rank of the husband, the more public the wife's role becomes. 'Mrs Commanding Officer' will be expected to perform a range of duties, all unpaid and all unacknowledged officially. Not only does the wife fulfil her duties but she will adhere to behavioural codes that comply with a gendered interpretation of the 'wife ideal'. Wifely roles are subordinate, she is an accessory, a 'good wife' will not get 'above herself', and, as Harrell (2001 p.65) found in her research, she will be expected to 'Dress Up, Show Up, Act Nice'.

These ranked wifely roles reflect the perceived parallel roles in civilian life of the solid, reliable working class/lower middle class woman who helps out at school fetes, community centres and similar activities against the ideal middle/upper middle class, or even aristocratic wife, who can waft around shaking hands, being elegant and engaging, and making polite small talk. These two wifely ideals are very different and it can be seen that the wife making the transition from one to the other faces a formidable task. Not only does the promoted wife have to face up to her new position and the expectations of it; she may, at the same time, lose her allies and friends. Any mutual support that may have taken place between ratings wives may collapse on promotion as the newly promoted wife will have to move home and will find herself in a whole new social milieu.

There are many feelings of loss and adjustment that go with the perpetual moving house, (Jolly 1987, Jervis 2011) and these feelings will also come into play when the husband is promoted. The wife is not only moving house, but moving away from her support network. The network of senior rates' wives is replaced with the new challenge of becoming an 'officer's wife'. The senior rates' wife would have a lot of experience and know all about Navy life; she may have played an important part in helping junior rates' wives to settle into Navy life, but then finds herself alienated in her new surroundings, possibly estranged from old friends and among Navy wives who now see her as a social superior or, even more challenging, as a traitor or defector; she has 'changed sides' and there may be jealousy or envy at her new position. There may also be an imbalance between rank and age which can cause a dislocation of self. The wife of a senior rate may be in her late thirties and have experienced the kudos of being a senior rate wife; however, the older her husband is on promotion, the more the imbalance between rank and age. For example, a Sub Lt in his

late thirties will be in a cohort of Sub Lts who are in their early twenties and living a different age-related lifestyle, for instance they may still be single men without children, or they may be at the beginning of their married life with different expectations and experiences. I will be exploring these challenges in the course of this study.

Whilst Jervis (2011 p.1) discusses in depth the emotional responses of military wives to their geographical relocation, many of her observations are relevant to the rank relocation of wives. Indeed, when the husband is promoted it most certainly will involve a change in work location and the higher up the promotion ladder he climbs, the more frequent and the greater the distance the family may have to move. Therefore the wife and family are experiencing a double dislocation of rank and habitat.

Jervis' study uses a psychoanalytic approach which reflects the outcomes of social and cultural analysis. The responses to the cultural/social differences are products of the individual's psychological processes; she discusses relocation as a process which requires mourning and one that can rouse melancholic or depressive states, (Jervis 2011p.76).

As Jervis posits her subjects within a Freudian and Kleinian framework, and she notes that the geographically relocated wife suffers from 'unconscious anxiety, aroused by (a) significant life change' (Jervis (2011p.71)). This trauma suffered by the wife may be similar to that suffered by the 'promoted' wife with one noticeable difference – there is no going back for the promoted wife. Geographical location can, in difficult times, be changed. The Navy is sympathetic to those who have considerable difficulties due to moving house and, with help from a Divisional Officer or the Naval Personal and Family Service, it can be the case that families can be moved to a location that provides more support (Jessup 1996 p.45). In contrast, the promoted family are stuck in a position where there is no going back to rating status for an officer. The upset of promotion therefore has to be endured. 'Disturbances of identity', such as promotion, can reactivate depression and anxiety and a 'fear for one's identity' (Jervis 2011 p.92-94). These serious health issues 'not only threaten ego coherence; they also evoke the depressive anxiety that such loss could be utterly irretrievable'. Jervis (2011 p.96) suggests that there is a constant undermining of identity in military communities that means that the 'psychic equilibrium is very likely to be disturbed'.

There is, however, an alternative occurrence where some wives may even be seen to 'overdo it' by being overly ambitious. If the wife is socially ambitious she may be the one who pushes the promotion; Jolly (1987 p.116) describes this as the power 'behind the throne'. Some wives were observed to be keen to 'achieve upward social mobility through their husbands' advancement', which leads to the possibility that some men have been strongly encouraged by their wives to go for promotion when they may not have wanted it themselves.

There is a high marriage and high divorce rate in the military (Jessup 1996) and the difficulties of military life take their toll on relationships: frequent moving of the family home; the lack of jobs or career opportunities for the spouse; the time husbands are expected to socialise with colleagues rather than family; and general disruption to the family each of these factors potentially threatens the relationship. One of the positive factors, and a contributory influence on a successful military marriage, is the strong friendship bonds and mutual understanding of other families in the force. As has been discussed, these bonds are often encouraged and based on rank parity, which suggests that a change in rank may break the links.

If the decision to go for promotion is a joint one, the couple can work together to face any problems; however, if either partner does not have the same aspirations and understanding of the new role, complications may arise. There needs to be an element of what MacDermid et al (2008) call 'resilience'. They suggest that positive outcomes following exposure to 'adverse or traumatic circumstance' are dependent on a range of factors which, they collectively note, is the individual's ability to respond in a positive way.

Although the differing experiences and culture of the distinct groups of Naval wives mean they lead their lives according to their own social class, culture and mores, there are many recognised similarities between the experiences of officers and ratings and, 'it is the men of the Royal Navy who face the longest and most regular separations from their families while serving on board ship' whilst wives and children have to deal with the 'repeated loss of their husbands' (Jolly 1987 p.109). The wives of all ranks, regardless of their ages and experience as Navy wives, had similar feelings regarding the difficulties of adjustment when husbands went to sea. These feelings were found to be similar to those found in people grieving the permanent loss of a loved one (Jolly 1987).

It is important to note that extended family can also be affected by a member's promotion into a new world. Parents and siblings may feel left behind and can feel a real or imagined cleft in their relationships (Goldthorpe 1980 p.176).

Summary

It can be seen that a naval wife and family are a desirable asset for an officer to have. The wife and children take on, or 'shadow stripe', the husband's rate or rank and the behavioural expectations of them reflect the ideals of their anticipated class demeanour, mirrored in civilian life. The role of the wife extends to unpaid support work for the armed service and, the higher her 'rank', the more that will be expected of her. Immersion by the wife in her role is essential to the success of the marriage and the career. Briscoe Pye & Shae (1942 p.132) state that, 'most officers who attain high rank concede to their wives a large part of the credit for the success of their careers. Every favourable impression a Navy wife creates reflects credit upon the Navy and adds to the prestige of her husband and to the esteem in which he is held as an officer and a gentleman'.

Chapter.5 Methods and Data

Research Paradigm and Ethical Considerations

The intention of the research was to investigate the response of Royal Navy officers to promotion from the lower deck. The research was conducted using a number of interrelating methods to ensure depth and breadth of data and supporting material to contribute towards the analysis.

The nature of the study is personal and introspective and therefore it was decided a qualitative approach would achieve the best results. The research is interpretivist in approach and acknowledges the idea that individuals do not exist in the world alone. Their existence is a subjective experience that exists in interrelationship with others, as Scott (2015 p.5) describes; 'actors understand themselves through their relationship with others'. For Scott (p.11) the symbolic interactionist approach to identity sees it as 'relational, communicative and symbolically meaningful'. In this case the members of the Royal Navy and their families are components of the British military that is employed to uphold British interests and defence. Military families are defined by their relationship to wider civilian society.

In her book on the experiences of Military Wives, Jervis (2011 p.128) asks the question 'So what constitutes data?' Her answer is clear – she takes the view that 'anything and everything connected with ... research might be informative'. I have found this to be a guiding philosophy and to be true in every sense. It is inadequate to say that one method alone is enough to produce a piece of qualitative research in the social sciences that captures fully the essence of the research subject (Richards & Morse 2006). Although the 'truth' is indefinable, the best that can be done is to approach the research with an open mind and to immerse oneself into the topic wholly, and so with this in mind the list that follows describes the methods used. It is however essential to note that much contributory data was gained through less specific means; walking the streets in which navy communities live, attending ward room functions, watching interactions at the Royal Navy sailing club and attending social and family days. I have drawn upon various disciplines, and following Lahire (2011p.6) I have found 'support in sociology, anthropology, historiography,

philosophy and psychology'. I have found this multidisciplinary approach vital in trying to establish a full understanding of the topic. The methods used were as follows:

- Questionnaires
- Interviews
- Photo Elicitation
- Personal Narratives
- Ethnographic Observation
- Study of Cultural and Media Representations

It was decided that the research would be undertaken with retired rather than serving members of the Royal Navy. There were a few reasons for this as there are significant factors to take into account when designing research within the military community.

As Jenkins et al (2011 p.44) suggest 'military sociology involves gatekeepers who... have significant authority and power in shaping research trajectories'. If the research was sanctioned by the Ministry of Defence and Naval ethics committee and serving officers were allowed to participate, this would have significantly coloured the results as 'collaboration requires accepting military institutional definitions of acceptable methodologies' (Jenkins et al 2011 p.44). Concerns about this interference combined with the possible reluctance of officers to be candid whilst still serving influenced the proposed research design. Apart from the reasons above, from a bureaucratic perspective, to access and interview serving members requires the permission of the Ministry of Defence ethics committee and I was advised this could take up to three years and officers interviewed could be constrained by the limitations of regulations concerning secrecy and confidentiality.

More importantly it was considered that retired officers would be able to be more reflective and frank. Serving officers would not be looking back on their careers in the same way and whilst still within the institution would be somewhat fixed in naval life without yet being able to be introspective about their careers as a whole. Another factor taken into account after considerable consideration and preliminary discussion within the service community, was that it became clear that serving personnel would feel unable to be fully

forthright and honest with their views. There were, even with retired personnel, concerns that they would somehow 'get into trouble' or upset ex colleagues and friends. Clearly some aspects discussed could still be of a sensitive nature both personally and from a naval community viewpoint. These elements of the investigation posed ethical questions and it was crucial to ensure the privacy not just of those interviewed but also of third party persons discussed in interview. It was also essential to consider that participants may have feelings of discomfort or bad memories.³⁹

A cut-off point of date of entry into the Navy of the year 1993 was decided upon. In that year the Women's Royal Naval Service was subsumed into the Royal Navy and the social dynamic began to change. The core of this research is how officers promoted from the lower deck respond to promotion, and it was desirable to have male participants who are part of the historic naval identity creating process. The intersection of gender, class and promotion deserves to be studied specifically as there will be considerable influencing factors specific to the new era navy post-1993.

I started the project by advertising for volunteer participants in a number of places:

- The Association of Royal Navy Officers (ARNO), who helpfully inserted information about the project in their publication and website. This is a national organisation for serving and retired naval officers.
- The Royal Naval Association (RNA) who placed information on their website and newsletter.
- The club house of the Royal Navy Sailing Association (RNSA).
- A number of local pubs and clubs that are frequently used by Royal Navy personnel.
- Word of Mouth in the Navy community: as a Navy wife I was able to inform people of the research and ask if anyone knew officers who would like to participate.

My advertisement described the research aims and suggested that if any wives would like to respond I would like to hear their views too.

³⁹ Many of the men interviewed had served in operational theatre in arenas such as the Second World War, Falklands conflict and in the Northern Ireland conflict. An unexpected example of this is the moment that the most elderly participant discussed in interview how his brother had died when HMS Hood sunk in 1941, and how he had heard the news on his own ship.

The expected sample size was between twelve and fifteen interviewees who would be interviewed in depth to elicit their response to promotion. It was also anticipated that a sample of at least six wives would be interviewed. The role of the wife was expected as being highly influential in the promotion process and it was therefore critical that wives voices were heard.

Within a month of placing advertisements I had received emails from 283 people. It became clear very quickly that I would have to rethink my methodological approach as I wanted to capture all of the relevant information and felt that I did not want to refuse those who had volunteered their comments. Selection of participants was thought about carefully as it was not thought good to reject volunteers (Peggs & Lampard 2007 p.9). Theoretical sampling – trying to find interviewees to fit the plans of the research, did not feel ethical and I wanted to ensure that a range of experience was represented even if it meant that my initial hypothesis proved to be unsound.

Questionnaires

All respondents were forwarded an initial questionnaire asking basic details of their service history and family background. Respondents were asked the year of entry into the Navy, time served before promotion, family make up at time of promotion and the branch served in. They were also asked to assess in which social class they positioned themselves at time of entry. There was an open ended question at the end where respondents could comment on their feelings about promotion, it was made clear that the research was specifically looking at issues to do with social class and identity and respondents were asked to write any comments they had to make on these issues. 251 Questionnaires were completed and returned, the majority by email and a few by post. The response was overwhelming. This represented 89% of the number of people who had initially responded. Although some said that they were forwarding information but did not want to, or were not available for interview, this still left a large number of officers volunteering to continue in the research programme.

From these questionnaires, two initial findings became clear; firstly, military life centres on strong notions of giving service and volunteering. Even in retirement officers were willing to volunteer their time and felt in some ways it was their duty to respond. The second finding was that people wanted to tell their stories and share their experiences. Several

officers made the comment that it was first time anyone had asked them about their experience. It may also be the case that finding retirement boring and feeling a sense of loss no longer being in the active Navy community motivated them to participate.

Although the initial questionnaire was intended to produce basic information many officers chose to expand and sent very detailed service accounts and histories. This was a double-edged sword. Whilst I was very pleased at the response it produced several unexpected problems. Firstly, a huge amount of information had to be read and considered thoroughly. Although it was much appreciated that people had spent time replying, many had written numerous pages that were presented in the style of a service record, listing positions and postings undertaken throughout their careers and describing their skills but not really addressing the issues I wanted to investigate. The second and more salient issue that arose was that some of the accounts were of a very personal and distressing nature. It was clear that some officers had used the opportunity to express very personal feelings, most of whom had not done this before. Although I had anticipated that some responses would be of a very sensitive nature, I had to ensure that I prepared the next stage very carefully.

Six of the respondents enclosed details from their wives who had written brief details of their observations as Navy wives. It is also noted that three officers had their wives do all the emailing and corresponding, the wife acting as gatekeeper.

From these responses I sought to compile a list of potential interviewees who had relevant experience and who had demonstrated engagement with the subject area.

I eliminated from the project those respondents who had not made any comment relevant to the research area and those who had purely presented a service history or a selection of Navy stories. I was left with 82 responses that had been relevant and suggested that the informant would give relevant data. These respondents had discussed in their replies issues specific to the research study and demonstrated understanding of the research topic. I was careful to select some who suggested that my hypothesis (that promotion was difficult), was not applicable to them (Richards & Morse 2006). Although many indicated that it was problematic I wanted to try and gain a fair and balanced view.

It was also felt important that a wide age range of respondents was represented to see if class-related experience was in any way associated with the Navy era in which the subject served. The shortlisted respondents covered a fifty three year entry date range from 1934

– 1987. The oldest participant was 95 years at the time of interview, the youngest 45. As it was felt there may be some branch⁴⁰ related influence on the process I tried to ensure that a range of branches were represented

With regard to other factors which could influence outcomes it proved to be a homogenous group. None of the respondents identified themselves as being from an ethnic group other than white British which was not surprising as the numbers of ethnic minority naval officers during the period would have been minimal. The question of sexuality was not asked as it was prohibited for members of the armed services to be homosexual during the period studied⁴¹. Eventually 82 men and 6 women were put forward to the next stage of the research. These remaining respondents were sent another questionnaire consisting of just two open questions and asking them to expand on their views and ideas. They were also asked if they would like to participate in group and/or one-to-one interviews.

81 officers responded with their accounts of class and identity related experience on promotion. These responses were written as personal narratives that gave their accounts of the promotion experience. It was noticed that the quality of written response was high, reflecting on the fact that naval officers have training in writing skills. There was a variety of approaches ranging from the military short, sharp response to the more descriptive style. 6 wives replied all of whom wrote shorter and more factual answers.

Another finding was revealed. Although all offered to be interviewed there was no enthusiasm for group interviews or discussion. The very idea was greeted with some hostility with one person stating that 'I'm not going to sit there with a load of wankers' and another one saying that 'group discussion is a waste of time as someone always takes over and never shuts up'. The reluctance to talk publicly demonstrates that military men should not be shown to be emotional, although Morgan (in Brod & Kaufman 1994 p.177) notes 'dominant models of masculinity are subject to considerable historical and cultural variation'. There is an overwhelming pressure on military men to be steadfast and impassive when it comes to discussing sensitive issues. This demonstrates the greater utility of one-to-one interviews as the interviewees seemed keen to open up but only under certain conditions and certainly not in 'touchy feely' group situations. Although hostility to groups was couched in humorous or contemptuous language it appeared to suggest that

⁴⁰ Branch is the job category worked for example: engineer – weapons or aircraft.

⁴¹ This regulation was ended in 2000.

these officers wanted to talk in private indicating that my data would be enriched and more honest if this was allowed. Another reason for the hostility may be that military ways of communication are structured and clearly defined, and open voice focus groups were alien to the participants who may be used to a more rigid and defined way of communicating with other military men (King 2006)

Interviews

After communicating and establishing that some people were not available for interview because of work or living abroad I finally interviewed 70 officers and 6 wives.

Face to face interviews were conducted across the UK. The interviews were open and in-depth with the researcher keeping the topic on track and focused using a list of question prompts. They were recorded and logged. Although only one officer wished to be anonymised I decided that I would make all participants anonymous. This was decided because of the very sensitive nature of some of the responses both from a personal and navy perspective. Some of the content discussed included domestic problems, the bullying of colleagues and events which could make it possible to identify other personnel and events and operations. (Lt Commander Bernard Cooper specifically requested to be named. He was the most elderly participant, having joined the Navy in 1934, he was resolute in his request 'to be remembered somewhere'.)

All of the interviews produced relevant data and many interviewees clearly understood the central theme of the research and were able to discuss with depth, emotion and humour some of their experiences. Although initially some were a little nervous there was no individual who did not have something relevant to say. Many of the interviewees had a very clear understanding of class-related subjectivity and offered considerable observations and interpretations of their experience.

Only three interviews were conducted with the husband and wife together. The other three couples chose to be interviewed separately in one case 'to get myself heard!' and in the other two they felt they 'could be more honest without the other half'.

In addition to the participant group, I was also able to interview other relevant parties⁴²all of whom had experience and considerable knowledge of the way people are promoted, having worked in naval human resources and management. These officers were not anonymised and spoke to me in their professional capacity. It is noted that one of them, Rear Admiral Lambert had come up through the lower deck.

The participant interviews commenced with a general discussion about how they joined the Navy, the sort of family they came from and why they chose to go for promotion. The interviews then became more in depth, discussing their feelings about becoming an officer, how it affected them and their families and how classed and ranked interactions had affected them. The multifaceted and sensitive nature of the subject meant that interviewees had to be allowed time to go off course. This reflects the benefits of semi-structured interviews: one can extend the reach of the findings by having a degree of flexibility in the interview situation that allows respondents to explore their thoughts. In doing so, they volunteer some valuable insights.

Jervis (2011 p.115) states clearly that ‘given the depth of emotional understanding that psycho-social research aims to reach, it risks evoking psychological distress in respondents’ and this was borne out by the interviews. Interviewees were forthright and honest in their views and two became quite upset when reflecting on their experience. One of these whose wife had died since he left the Navy repeatedly said how he ‘couldn’t have got through it without her’; the other had had considerable mental health problems after promotion and although withdrawal from the interview and stopping the tape was offered several times he chose to go through with it, it appeared the interview was cathartic despite its challenging nature (Peggs & Lampard 2007 p.13). When the suggestion of help was offered, the interviewees rejected it.⁴³

⁴² Surgeon Rear Admiral Mike Farquharson-Roberts CBE RN
Rear Admiral Nick Lambert RN
Captain Mike Young RN
Captain Paul Quinn OBE RN

⁴³ Participants were given details of charities and support groups that they could access if it was felt to be helpful, all declined the offer.

i. Limitations of Interview

An interview can never tell the 'whole truth'. The collaborative nature of the interview where interviewer and interviewee engage in a framed discussion to draw out meaning is not comparable to a quantitative exercise that produces less fluid data.

The positioning of interviewer and interviewee places a burden on the interviewer to gain the 'facts' or the 'truth', and at the same time the interviewee can only tell the story as he sees it. Reflexivity as a 'methodological concept' (Deer in Grenfell 2012 p.195) reflects that the relationship between the investigator and the subject is a collaborative enterprise and that the interviewer has 'to recognise their own objective position within the ...field' (ibid).

Jervis (2011 p.121) suggests that within research there may be an 'asymmetry... within terms of power', for Down, Garrety & Badham (2006) this asymmetric relationship is often revealed when the researcher may be 'intellectually superior' to the research subjects. In this case the dynamic was turned upside down, some officers were bemused by my position as an 'academic' and saw the interview more as a leisure style interview. For these officers their self-assurance was established in the rank they still carried, and a couple of them were openly condescending.

Many interviewees asked me if I had any Navy connections. The potential for this had concerned me, as it had the potential to inhibit participants with regard to their response. It did however have the opposite effect and seemed to put people at ease and in the words of one interviewee meant that he could 'talk the talk' implying that my knowledge of Navy life meant that he did not have to explain everything. The experience demonstrated that as (Woodward & Jenkins 2011 p.44) note 'close connections facilitate research'. There are, though, reasons to be cautious when researching within a community that one is part of. There is a demand for reflexivity on the part of the 'insider' researcher as on the one hand the insider has considerable insight into the situation but on the other as Jervis (2011 p.119) suggests we can be 'blind to the dominant ideas that influence [us]' with the possibility we can make assumptions about participants' lived experience based on our own but which may be very different to that of others. For Bourdieu (2000 p.50) 'the universalizing of a particular case' has to be guarded against and the researcher has to recognise that our 'primary understanding of the world ...is linked to experience of inclusion in the world'. The advantage of being an 'insider' is that levels of objectification may be lessened, and thus the research is less prone to the 'disastrous' situation that occurs when 'the people that

science takes as its object are more remote from academic universes in their conditions' (Bourdieu 2000 p.50).

Jervis (p.121) warns the insider interviewer to 'guard against the influence of personal prejudices' and this advice was essential to keep in mind when undertaking interviews. Although it was on only two occasions when I felt negatively towards an interviewee the strength of feeling surprised me and I had to make a specific point of allowing the interviewee to say what they had to say and ensure that his words were represented fairly. It was also critical to prevent the countertransference of my internalised thoughts on navy wife life to my interviewees, and with this in mind I was cautious to not discuss my experiences and to stick to the position of interviewer. Ultimately, being an insider was beneficial – they felt that I was 'one of them' and I feel that this elicited more open and honest responses. Participants discussed issues easily and free flowing conversation was possible without the need for the interviewee to have to stop to explain naval terminology, language or customs.⁴⁴ This was advantageous and although other sociological researchers have engaged in ethnographic research (such as Wacquant on boxers⁴⁵) it is impossible to fully subsume the world being studied if you are an outsider⁴⁶.

There were times throughout the research that brought about considerable introspective thought and at times anger and despair particularly on reflection of classed injustices and unfairness and the perceived inability of the 'newcomer' to be fully accepted. However, this was somehow negated by the comment that Jervis (2011 p.113) makes that 'emotions experienced by the researcher amount to additional data since they often point to unconscious ideas and procedures.... which might usefully inform the research'. Jervis (p.120) continues by stating that 'researchers always contribute to the data elicited...they cannot escape taking their own history into the research' and this would be the case whether or not I was part of the group being studied.

⁴⁴ One participant was stand-offish, patronising and made sexist comments. However once we had walked down the pontoon to his boat where the interview was taking place, I asked him if he would like me to put on deck shoes, he replied "oh you know something about boats then" and was instantly more pleasant.

⁴⁵ Wacquant, L (2006) *Body & Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*. Oxford University Press

⁴⁶ An exemplary example of 'insider' research in military sociology is the work of John Hockey (1986) described as a 'Portrait of a Subculture' on Army squaddies. It is highly unlikely that Hockey could have produced such a rich piece of research if he had not previously been a regular soldier himself.

ii. Reflections on interview process

All of the interviewees were productive and helpful, and there was willingness to discuss fully their experiences and thoughts. I was surprised at how much the interviewees were willing to help me in different ways. For example many helped out by finding a suitable interview location. The officers at the RNA were particularly helpful and made me welcome in their offices in the Dockyard at Portsmouth.

I was also surprised by the candid nature of the interviews. I had expected some reluctance to admit negative feelings or admittance of fear or failure, yet the officers were open and frank about their experiences. I think that was mainly down to the fact that they were retired and not in fear of breaching regulations or exposure to others of any perceived failings. The interviews were generally continuous but there were occasions when breaks in conversation said more than words could. Here, I took note of Jervis's (2011, p. 113) suggestion to look for 'hesitations, contradictions, tension... and also what is NOT mentioned' as there is data in silence. This was proved to be true as interviewees sometimes struggled for words or in two cases were unable to articulate what had clearly been considerably difficult situations.

iii. Interviews as therapeutic

Many officers were interested in the research and expressed gratitude that they would be able to 'tell their story'. Several commented on the fact that no one had ever asked them about these matters before and it was good to 'get it off your chest after all these years'. One captain was initially a little hostile suggesting that I was trying to make a 'mountain out of a mole hill' and that 'there is no issue, people just get on with it'. He was the only one to suggest that it was not difficult. The interviews were visibly seen to be therapeutic for most of the interviewees. Officers began to relax after the initial few questions and opened up with perceptive and insightful comments. The interview is recognised, like the relationship between psychoanalyst and patient, as being 'inevitably...cathartic' (Lahire 2011 p.75) and it is hoped that this is the case in this project.

The wives interviewed expressed thanks for 'giving them a voice' and there was a feeling that they felt privileged as interviewees; it was interesting to note that all of the wives had

dressed for the occasion and were generous in their welcome. Although the wives said they were grateful, I did feel some apprehension about discussing with them all that they had personally given up for their husbands. I wondered if their reflections and the 'bringing out into the open' what they had done may have had negative effects. This wasn't the case whilst I was there and they showed pride in their support of their husbands; I wondered however whether after I had left there were any retrospective moments when they reflected on their lives as wives in a negative or even angry way. I am hoping in the future to address some of these issues with a further related research project on the lives of Navy wives.

iv. Post Interview

Following the interviews I emailed each officer to thank them for their participation. Five officers replied with further comments and observations about their promotion, and these comments are included in the personal narratives. Most of the officers asked if I would be writing a book and were keen to see the completed work. It is hoped that once this research is completed I will be able to use the study to write a book that would be accessible to the participants and other interested parties. Participants were keen to know 'what did the others say?' which was in some ways ironic as there was such reluctance to take part in a focus group. When I suggested that we could have a post-research seminar and discussion evening there was considerable interest and again the irony with which this can be positioned is considerable and is part of the data collected.

Photograph and Object Elicitation

Photographs were used in two ways: participants brought their own photographs to the interview and I photographed Navy events, establishments and housing areas.

Firstly the participants who volunteered for interview were asked to bring along any photographs which they felt illustrated their naval careers and progress through the ranks. Photography is very much part of military life. Servicemen and women are officially photographed throughout the stages of their career and service people are often photographed at work and at sporting or other participatory events such as charity runs or military ceremonies. The importance of photography in this context is recognised by Woodward & Jenkins (2011 p.45) who suggest that

photographic or other image based practices around explorations of representation may be more attuned to investigating individual subjectivities associated with meaning-making in military contexts...

In this research the photograph was seen to be a form of support in the story telling, interviewees held the photographs and viewed them several times throughout the interview, and they provided a visual reminder of what the interviewees had been through. For some of the officers interviewed at home, photographs of their military life were displayed and a couple of officers took me on a 'walking tour' of their framed photographs. The photograph is a visual reminder of the individual's service history and for many, the inclusion of photographs represented not only the officer but his family too, emphasising the importance of the family as part of the serviceperson's life. The photograph supports the content of the interview and helps to elicit details. Jenkins, Woodward & Winter (2008) state that 'photo elicitation is significant methodologically because of the scope of this method to address the limitations of the use of research interviews'. Alongside similar lines Harper (2002) agrees and suggests that human reaction to the visual image is a primal response and 'images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words'. Interviews supported by visual imagery allow the interviewee to negotiate a duality of symbolic representation. Photographs help respondents to 'recall actions, intentions or understandings' when memories maybe inadequate or incorrect (Jenkins, Woodward & Winter 2008). They are a physical reminder of a past, a confirmation of an existence set in

a time and place, they are in essence a kind of proof. Interviewees were asked to bring their own photographs because if photographs were only provided by the interviewer, it might create a situation where the interviewee becomes a 'cultural dupe simply responding to the triggers that the photo produces or being blindly directed by the interviewer' (Jenkins, Woodward & Winter 2008).

By bringing their own photographs the interviewee is choosing to show what is most important to them. They are encouraged to reveal the core of their ideas about their identity as a socially mobile member of the Navy. This enables the interviewer to gain insight into how the officer felt or feels. Personally selected photographs position the respondent in a time and place in their career; situated in a training establishment, mess deck, ship. Several respondents chose to bring photographs and pictures that included mess mates, ship mates, wives and family. These photographs illustrate the naval officers' identity as interpreted through real or fictive kinships, and demonstrate the links and interdependency between the individual and his family and ship mates and colleagues. Photographs at passing out parades, course qualification and social functions such as the first ward room event are 'symbolic of a transformatory ritual' Woodward & Jenkins (2011 p.260). These photographs have meaning to the respondent and help the researcher to position the importance of what they illustrate within the research framework. The sharing of photographs helped to break down any barriers between the interviewees and myself as it engenders a feeling of closeness as photographs are viewed together.

The second way in which photographs were used was by the researcher taking her own photographs at naval establishments and accommodation. The physical act of walking the streets of family quarters and taking photographs through immersion in the community, enabled a deeper understanding of how naval life is internalised and experienced. As Jervis (2011) suggests, it is critical for the researcher to fully immerse themselves in their data to make 'theoretical connections' I felt it was important to expand on this through physical engagement with the naval environment. The distinct difference between rating and officer accommodation and work environments is a strong visual reminder of the issue at heart. For Bourdieu, photographs show 'the contrasts and unexpected juxtapositions of cultural practices...that illustrate how social space is structured in time and place' Grenfell (2012 p.238). The taking of a photograph as a form of field analysis provides a way of giving the

photographer a relational understanding of the connection between the object being researched and its link to the space it occupies (p.239)⁴⁷.

Photo elicitation was not the only visual contributor to this research. Some officers showed memorabilia such as medals, tankards, ship-specific clothing such as a baseball cap and a cummerbund and sport trophies. One officer displayed his ceremonial sword which was mounted on the wall in his living room. This object elicitation was both fascinating and highly important. It allowed the officers to show the interviewer meaningful items that allowed them to position themselves in their careers. Several interviewees wore ship or associated clothing to the interview, such as a ship polo shirt even though it was several years since the officer was serving on the ship.

Personal Narratives

The second questionnaire included three open-ended questions which invited respondents to discuss in their own ways their feeling upon promotion. They were reminded of the core ideas of the research investigation. The replies were of a high standard with many officers choosing to write a personal narrative in an autobiographical style that clearly illustrated their promotion trajectory alongside their personal feelings and experiences as they underwent the transition from rating to officer. These stories were a critical part of the data collection as they not only provided initial information upon which to follow up in interview but they allowed a form of expression that, at the time of writing, is private and thus in many ways allowed a freedom of thought away from the prompting of the interviewer.

For many people writing allows a way of expressing things which do not come easily in the verbal form. Two respondents had clearly thought very hard about how to express themselves: their answers were filled with crossings out and changes in form and there was a clear demonstration that they were keen to find words that expressed their experiences in ways that were meaningful to them. Whilst a positivist response to life stories reduces them to mere anecdotes and 'scholars in the social sciences have often regarded life

⁴⁷ In addition I was fortunate to be given access to the photograph collection of HMS Excellent on Whale Island, Portsmouth. The curator, Lt Cdr Brian Witts MBE RN was very helpful in furnishing me with photographs that illustrated the different aspects of naval life I wanted to illustrate.

histories with unease and suspicion [they are] very much embedded in social relationships and structures' (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008 p.5). As Woodward (2002 p.29) observes 'stories enable us to make sense of our lives' yet as Maynes, Pierce & Laslett (2008 p.41) note, Bourdieu felt it was illusionary to accept the autobiography as the authentic truth and this is reflected by the caution that historians show when offered such stories as 'evidence'. However, if these narratives are used in conjunction with other methods they provide a way of penetrating the thoughts of individuals and, if taken within the context of the time and place and in this case the institution within which the life is lived, they are vivid descriptors and useful illustrators of the lived experience. Lewis (2008 p.561-562) considers the life-history to be a 'valuable tool for...research' and suggests they have four main functions: They provide a high level of historical depth and ethnographic detail offering a way of providing texture and deep description. They provide a way of accounting for both structure and agency and allow the researcher to immerse themselves in the worlds they try to understand rather than relying solely on concepts and models. They humanise the research process. They challenge received wisdoms by generating nuanced accounts that subvert established knowledge.

Although there may be pitfalls as Lewis (2008 p. 563) describes 'the risk of generalisation, contamination of data, and 'authorial' control', in this case the personal narratives were found to be rich in information. The accounts enabled a way of respondents being able to portray their experiences in a highly nuanced and textured way, more importantly, as Lawler (2008c p.36) argues 'narratives *always and necessarily* build in attempts at understanding'. The narrative permits the writer to interpret his experiences, and in addition, the subtlety with which some respondents were able to communicate in writing would be hard to find in the spoken word.

Ethnographic Observation

As a 'time served' Navy wife I have had the opportunity to witness many functions and events where the interaction between individuals is rank-based. I have first-hand experience of the nuances of role performance and expectation and how these interactions are negotiated. My husband did not come up through the ranks – he was a Merchant Navy officer who came in through the Royal Naval Reserve and as such there was always the

knowledge that he too had 'come in through the back door'. Having been an officer myself in the Merchant Navy I found it difficult to play the subservient wife role. There have been many times when, at social functions, I could have engaged in conversation about ship movements or ship functions but did not do so. This was because it would have been seen as unwelcome intervention by both male officers who saw me as a whimsical female, and other wives who disapproved of my knowledge and resented my ability to 'talk the talk'. I have been therefore able to draw on my own personal observations to enhance my understanding of the data.

Media and Cultural Representation

There is a large quantity of media and cultural representation of the Royal Navy spread over a period of at least two centuries. These representations both inform civilians about naval life and are in turn created by them in a response to what they see as being the 'real' Navy. Cultural representation of naval life has retained its popularity. Whilst not produced in the quantities and range that occurred during the Nelson years and Second World War it continues to be a popular focus for film, news stories and other cultural forms.

Media outlets and news providers latch on to Navy stories at any opportunity and the stories are framed within the historically manufactured concept of what naval officers and ratings are presumed to be. News stories of contemporary naval officers who have committed breaches of service expectations such as sexual misconduct, financial irregularities and minor infringements of the law such as drink driving and speeding are treated by the press with an outrage that suggests that any infringement of societal and martial codes by naval officers is outrageous and 'not in keeping' with the expectations of a naval officer, this supports the notion of the naval officer as having to be above reproach. The naval officer is regarded as a 'pillar of society' who is presented to the public as having considerable qualities that are to some extent, unique to the Navy. The media in their desire to show a bad light often confuse stories about NCOs with commissioned officers and thus demonstrate their lack of understanding of military ranks.

Jervis' aforementioned comments on the importance of immersion in the subject matter extends to this aspect of the research. To read naval stories and watch naval films is part of that immersion (Colville 2004). The representations across eras and styles are

surprisingly homogenous. The positioning of the naval officer as anything other than upstanding and cool, calm, and competent is rare. In addition any departure is positioned positively, for example in the film 'We Dive at Dawn' the commanding officer although subject to introspection, is shown to have humility and bravery.

Storage and Analysis of data

Data were collated by utilising these varying methods and had to be stored in a usable way. Interviews were transcribed by me, and I listened to some of the recordings more than once to ensure I had captured all of the data. The transcriptions were then read and topic areas highlighted by colour. This was done by hand as I felt that complete absorption of the data was essential to gain deep meaning⁴⁸. As I colour coded data, topic areas for investigation became clear and this utilisation of coding proved fruitful – both allowing for collation of data and revealing areas of investigation that had not previously been considered⁴⁹.

Interview recordings and photographs are held in computer files and transcripts are stored in folders. All data is stored in secure conditions, names of participants have been anonymised and confidentiality has been assured to all participants. Operational information has been changed to ensure non-identifiability.

Where acknowledgement has been given to photographs given by the participants, this is with their full permission. The same participants have been made anonymous when quoted in the research.

⁴⁸ Although I had received training in the use of NVivo data analysis software, I found it unable to recognise the nuances of the data. I was able to code with greater speed and accuracy doing it manually.

⁴⁹ For example I had not previously considered the response of extended family members to an officer's promotion, yet coding of data demonstrated that this was a problematic area that affected individuals and was thus added to the criteria influential in response to social mobility.

Presentation of Data and Analysis

In the next four chapters the collected data is presented and analysed and the research questions are addressed. The analysis chapters have been divided into four main themes:

- **The Promotion Process**
- **The Officer World part 1- The Embodiment of Officership**
- **The Officer World part 2- The Physical World of Officership**
- **Difficult Times**

The first of these investigates how individuals made the move from rating to officer. The initial discussion considers where participants situated themselves in social space on joining the Navy. The promotion process is examined and discussed, as is how they acquired the necessary educational, embodied and social networking skills to be considered for officership. In addition to this is a discussion how the men had to 'play the game' to relocate their social position in a new operational field and how it feels to leave the old field.

The second chapter explores the officer world from the start of the officer journey as candidates attend officer training college and the metamorphosis into an officer occurs. Upon leaving the rating world the officer has to undertake the officers' training course- colloquially known as the 'Knife and Fork' course – which is an in depth training programme designed to give the new officer the military, social and cultural skills required to perform naval officership. This is complemented by the third chapter which explores the contrasting worlds of the rating and officer and how this is manifested in a range of classed material and embodied aspects.

The fourth analysis chapter looks specifically at some of the difficulties experienced by the promoted man. Feelings of alienation and difference are explored and attention is drawn to how promotion can create a cleft with old friends. For many officers, spouses and extended family had an influence on the success of the promotion and at the same time the promotion was a source of tension and ontological disturbance for the newly promoted officers and their families. With this in mind the mutual experience of married officers and their wives is also explored.

Chapter.6 The Promotion Process

To fully understand the effects of social mobility within the naval framework it is essential to investigate the trajectory that has led to the significant move from rating to officer status.

The men in this research made a decision to exchange their rating lives for another that represents a considerable change in self-expectation and a new response to the expectations of others.

Identity on joining the Navy

According to Locke a 'person's identity extends to whatever his or her past she can remember' (Kihlstrom, Beer & Klein 2003 p.71). The reflections and observations in interviews and written accounts collated in this research, represents officers' understanding of who they were at different times in their lives and careers. However, the significant influence of habitus includes that which is beyond conscious memory. For Maton (2012 p.49) 'habitus is a concept that orients our ways of constructing objects of study', in this case naval officers promoted from the lower deck. Habitus is produced by the 'particular class of conditions of existence' (Bourdieu 1990b p.52), a 'product of our histories' (p.53) that is 'embodied...internalised as second nature' and is the 'active presence of the whole past' (p.56).

A man's conception of self and identity at the time he joined the Navy, the time he served as a rating and on becoming an officer, is illustrated by the memories they have of those times and how he tells these stories. The ontological understanding of self is developed through the time and place he was born into. It reflects the experiences of his life and work and his interrelationship with others and shapes how others see him. The habitus he has formed as a consequence of his primary socialisation will stay part of him throughout his life regardless of what fluctuations, deviations, influences and mobility he may experience. As Maton (2012 p.52) reflects; 'Habitus is the link...between past, present and future...the social and the individual, the objective and the subjective...structure and agency'. Habitus is where we place ourselves having learnt our position through conscious and unconscious absorption of all influences to which we are exposed.

The men in this research entered the Navy as ratings and, having been socialised by families, schools and friends, the socialising processes experienced by them would have been influential in the decision to join the Navy. For some it was a familial step; endo-recruitment (Caforio & Nuciari 2011 p.277) was significant- 16% of respondents' fathers served in the military. For these men the Navy was a familiar and natural place in which to find themselves and as only one of them had an officer father, the others would have viewed serving as a rating as normal. Absorption of rating identity through fathers, uncles and brothers would have helped them to form a concept of a rating self that was partially introduced before their own initial training commenced. The Navy habitus is an all-encompassing feeling of being part of a large dynamic organisation with its own protocols, rules, regulations and language. With its history and traditions deeply entrenched in diurnal life, the Navy has its own sub habitus – specifically in this case rating and officer habitus, these are very distinct and are embedded in their operational fields as will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

Familial relationships are fundamental in the construction and development of the sense of self and identity. For these men their understanding as the 'son of' a rating, would help to construct their perceived military potential within this family framework. This inherited understanding may have created a glass ceiling above which they might have felt they could not or did not want to rise. These 'inherited ways of understanding' (Skeggs 1997a p.9) position the individual within a subordinate military context, the majority of participants came from working class backgrounds and thus understood 'their place'.

For men joining the navy from civilian families there were varied reasons for the Navy as a career choice. For some the navy was a place of sanctuary either due to family discord or the inability of families to support their sons. Paternal relationships were influential in creating a situation where the son had to leave home often with a sense of failure:

My Dad thought I was useless. His negative judgement of me was what probably made me want to show him that I was not as useless as he thought. (Rod)

My Father refused to let me stay on for A levels which I resented, he thought I was a waste of space. (John)

For men such as these, their identities as failures to their fathers, would help to construct a subordinate identity and failed sense of self. For these men the sense of failure might easily be continued in their service careers with the role of divisional and commanding officers supplanting the parent, confirming the individual's feelings of inability to 'rise above it all'. However the Royal Navy gave them the opportunity to create a new sense of self-belief and to contest paternal views of worth, for the Naval service did not subscribe to a 'circumscribed trajectory' (Skeggs 1997a p.9) but instead offered a pathway to renewed self-belief and improvement and consequently upward social mobility⁵⁰.

For some participants, especially the many without qualifications on entry (47%) and who may have been perceived as troublesome pupils at school, their understanding of academic failure and as a disappointment to parents may have positioned them psychologically within the rank and file. They lacked not just the self-assurance required of an officer but the academic qualifications for officer candidature. Potential for officership, command and leadership would not have been in their realm of ambition. However, for others as will be seen, this was the motivating factor for progression through the ranks.

All of the men in this research joined as ratings. Most came from working class backgrounds and just 27% would have been 'officially' classed as middle class on entry into the Navy. The charts below illustrate the social classification of parental occupations in the group⁵¹

⁵⁰ For the duration of the study period between 30%-40% of Officers were recruited from the rating corps. This is quite high and it is hoped that a future study may investigate how this compares with opportunities for social mobility in other occupational groups.

⁵¹ This classification is within the Registrar-Generals Social Classes scale introduced in 1913, and was the main classification system in use for the decades in which the participant's parents lived. Classification was based on occupation.

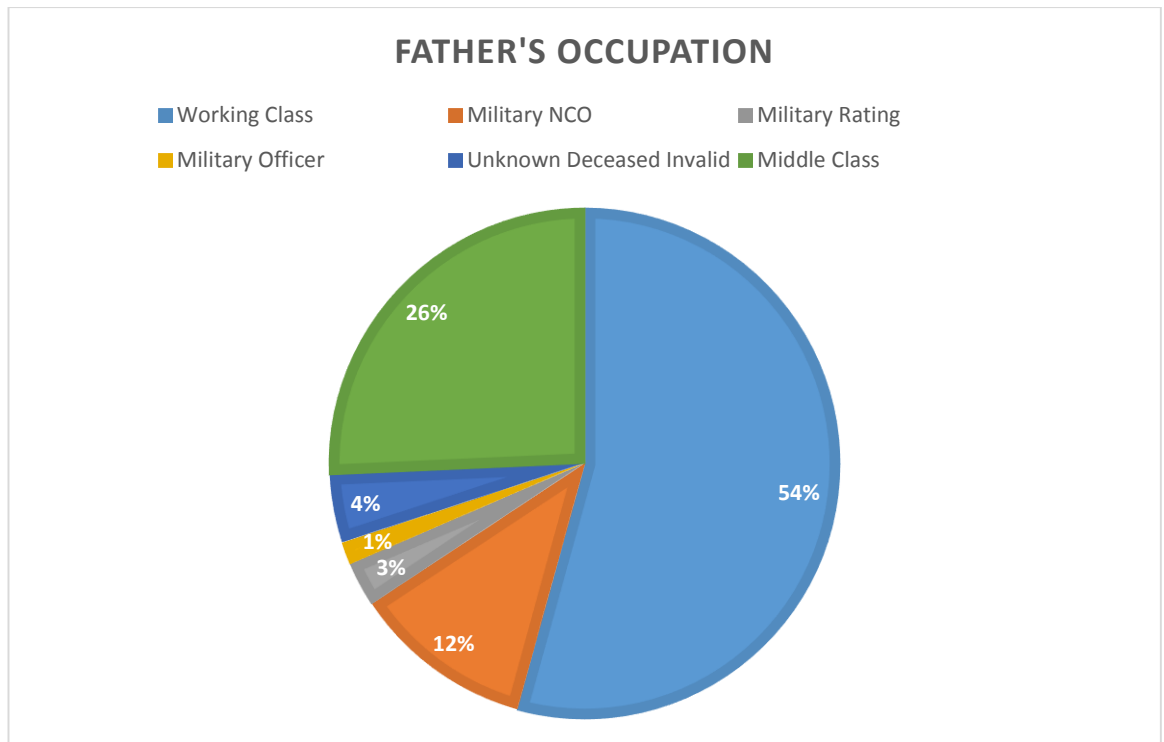


Table 1

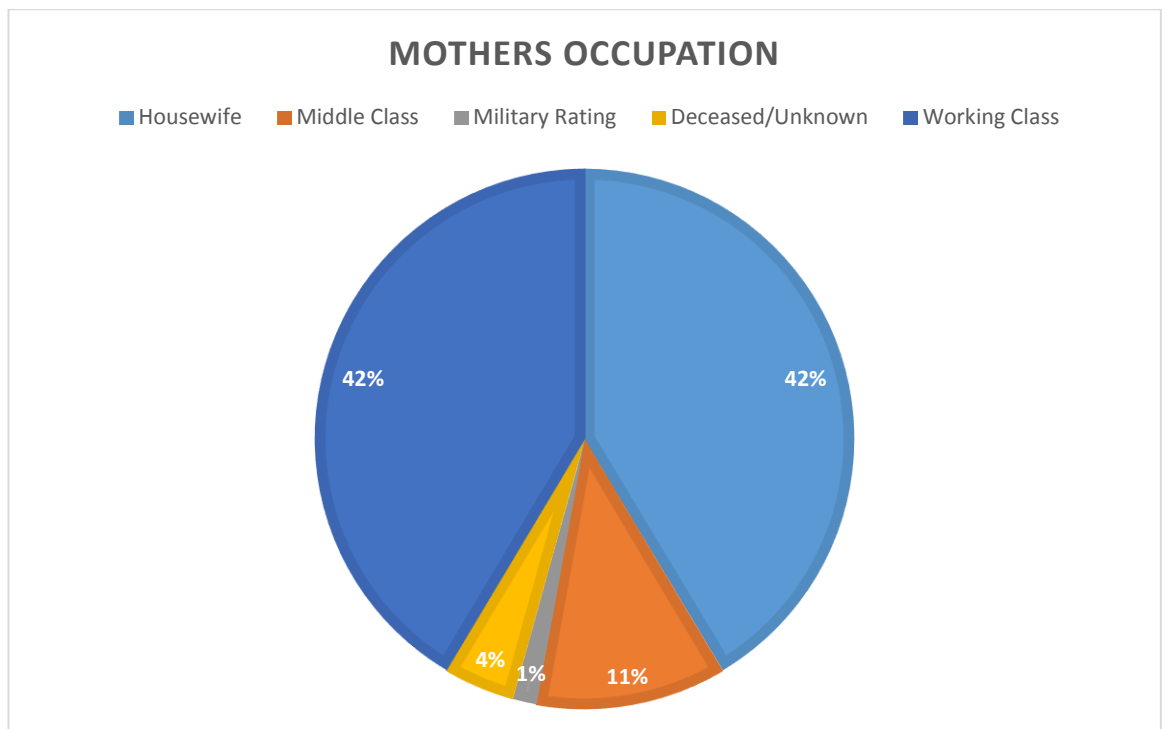


Table 2

Parental Occupations

If the occupations of fathers are considered then 69% of the officers in this research had a father in a traditional working class job (this is the total for working class occupations, military rating and military NCO: 4% did not know their father).

For the mothers, only 11% worked in middle class occupations such as teaching whereas 84% of the mothers were either housewives or employed in working class occupations. (42% of the mothers were housewives and would therefore have been categorised by their husband's job). Thus it can be seen that nearly three quarters of the men who participated in the research 'officially' came from traditional working class families⁵². However when asked the question; 'What social class do you think you were on joining the Navy?' Only two out of seventy (2.8%) answered middle class, all others answered 'somewhere on the working class scale'. This is strong evidence that a large majority of the middle class group 'downgraded' themselves either because they genuinely perceived themselves to be as such or because their memories of who they were, in comparison to what they became, led them to realise that in relation to others they had been socially lower down the scale. This is supported by the subjective reflections of some participants. The following comments demonstrate the validation and internalisation of working class identity in respondents:

In every sense of the words I was working class, I mean my Mum was a cleaner. (Alan)

There was no money to rub together, both my Mum and Dad's families were very working class. (Dave)

I came from the top end of the working class. (Sol)

These comments show how class consciousness was absorbed through interpretation of parental occupation and/or the family's economic capital. Some respondents classified and illustrated their identities by descriptions of their home environments such as Frances who said:

We lived in a one room downstairs, two bedroom with outside privy. (Frances)

This interpretation of the micro geography of his home is matched by those for whom identity was aligned within a wider geographic location. Mark acknowledged his urban working class identity:

⁵² See table of parents occupations in Appendix 2

I grew up in South London, I'm an inner city kid. (Mark)

These observations reflect that judgements on identity are never made in isolation, that identity involves the interrelationship between 'the personal and the social' (Woodward 2002 p.vii). These men defined themselves in relationship to others, in this case comparison of the size or location of the family home. Other comparative remarks were made, for example the participants who defined themselves as deviant by discussing their non-compliant behaviour as children:

[I was a] tearaway and quite rough really. (Will)

I loved fighting and one day, after getting suspended again from school, my Dad said to me if you like fighting that much then join the bloody forces. (Les)

Many respondents recognized that their education had let them down and prevented them from entering as anything other than a rating:

My education was well below the standard of Dartmouth Officer entry. (Reece)

My school was huge, a big comprehensive where cool kids didn't do any work and I was lazy anyway. No one from my school achieved much in the way of qualifications. My school was the largest comprehensive in London. Over 2500 kids, it was lawless. (Mark)

School as an agent of social reproduction had let these men down, and the educational habitus for these men as students was one which 'reproduced existing social relations' (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2014 p114) in a negative way. The men quoted above joined the Navy without any formal qualifications and all went on to achieve a degree or equivalent, proving that they had ability that was unrealised by their education. Their educational identity was fixed in an environment that they internalised as failure (Archer, Hollingworth, & Halsall 2007).

Family poverty was for some respondents the reason for joining the navy and this fixed their classed identity at the point of entry:

My Dad didn't want me to stay on at school, they needed me to go to work to help out financially (Rob)

I couldn't stay on at school, my parents needed me to go out to work, the first thing I saw in the job centre was a recruitment poster for the Navy. (Mike)

The financial need to go to work influenced the entry process and at the same time prevented those with identified potential for officership from direct entry into the officer corps:

I was identified as a potential candidate for Dartmouth⁵³. When it came to completing the entrance form for the age 16 entry exam a £5 deposit was required, I didn't have it, it was a week's income for my parents, so I tore up the form. (Paul)

Paul had to enter as a rating for which there was no fee. As someone with 8 O levels on entry he had the academic qualifications for officer entry but was prevented from doing so because of family financial constraints. It was a similar story for Keith too:

I'd been to grammar school and was well educated then my dad lost his job and it became urgent to get me out of the house, to get out and earn money. I joined up the quickest way I could. (Keith)

In contrast to those who were free from economic necessity and had been brought up with the legitimate culture perceived obligatory for officership, the above men were unable to choose which naval entry route they took. These men joined the rating corps accepting their position in the subordinate group. Many of them joined with enthusiasm and were pleased to join the Navy in the positions they had been offered. The speedy offer of a job

⁵³ Dartmouth was the training establishment for Officers – Britannia Royal Naval College

negated the sense of wasted potential. For others though, their sense of identity was thrown into question as navy recruiters did not see them as they saw themselves:

I had always wanted to be an officer... it had been assumed by my parents that I would be a direct entry candidate for Dartmouth. We were shocked when I was told no, but you can join as a rating. (Giles)

The situation was similar for Ray whose perception of who he was thrown into disarray:

I thought I was middle class, my Dad was an NCO in the Army and my Mum was a nurse but then when I applied to be an officer they didn't want me, I wasn't good enough, whatever that meant. (Ray)

Ray ended up doing the Admiralty Interview Board an extraordinary four times in his service career:

The first time I was told I wouldn't pass the exams, then I did. The second time there some other excuse. In the end I had better qualifications than many of the people examining me and they couldn't say no in the end. I think it was more to do with, you know who I was. I wasn't what 'they' wanted. Deep inside there was the feeling that... well the officer class was aloof and snobbish... different. They thought I didn't fit in. (Ray)

Ray had been highly qualified in maths and physics and yet was subordinated by his inability to 'perform' the embodied expectations of an officer. This first inkling that there was something else other than school certificates required came as a shock to Ray and he still felt hurt when discussing it in interview for this research some thirty five years later. His vivid description of 'not fitting in' and how 'they' looked down on people like me' demonstrated that even after many years had passed his sense of rejection and inadequacy or what Walsh (1997 p.152) describes as an 'internalized narrative of oppression' was still hurtful, despite eventually gaining a commission.

Some men felt they did not 'fit in' with the rating group indicating that moving up to the officer corps was as 'an actualization of the 'real self' (Lawler 1999 p.9). There are differences between collective and individual identity (Jenkins 1996, p.36) but the shared

and singular understandings of identity are entwined (Mead 1934 p.171). They are embedded within the understanding of the wider context of where and with whom you live. We judge ourselves against others as Mead states that 'self-consciousness ...is definitely organised about the social individual', Woodward (2007p.145) agrees 'we cannot separate selfhood from things external to it'. Rating training and their subsequent lives as naval ratings would shape these men into what both the Navy expected in terms of subordinated identity and group expectations within the mess decks. The rating identity becomes all-encompassing as Lin (2011 p.192) recognises the training procedure; 'indoctrinate[s] actors with values and skills in performing rituals and behaviours associated with the prevailing institution.'

A socialisation process away from the family home created a rating identity and the first understandings of the hierarchical and classed positions within the Navy. The Navy as a large organisation is an institution in which 'identification becomes consequential' (Jenkins 1996 p.45) and as has been noted in chapter 2, rate and rank are significant. The naval identity of rate/ rank and associated social class expectations are part of a classification process which is constructed to confirm the individual's right to lead, or not. There is a 'routinised practice for allocating individuals' in what (Jenkins 1996 p.46) calls the 'institutional order'.

The rating training establishment and the subsequent move to the rating mess decks provide what Jenkins (p.86) describes as a 'source of enduring individual primary identification', in this case a working class identity within a naval context. This primary naval identification is confronted when men take the decision to go for promotion to commissioned officer status. The desire or in some cases the need for promotion reflects that 'human lives... [can] dramatically shift in direction' (Collins 2004 p.43).

Reasons for promotion

Charles Cooley (1902 p.285) suggested that an individual has 'explosive material stored up in him, but it cannot go off unless the right spark reaches it'.

For the officers in this research the 'spark' that initiated the decision to become a commissioned officer was ignited by a range of reasons. All of the men in this research served time on the lower deck before receiving a commission. The shortest time served was 7 months and the longest time served was 24 years. There was considerable differences in their promotion journey and their reasons for the promotion were varied. Of the men who answered the question 'Why did you apply to become an officer?' the answers were varied.

Some men had been selected, advised or persuaded by a senior officer such as their Divisional Officer or Captain:

I had encouragement from the CO and HOD (Giles)

The decision was made by my Captain and Divisional Officer... I was informed and offered the chance to decline if I so wished (Steve)

Many saw it as a natural progression: comments such as those below were made by several men.

It was the next step on the ladder.

I could do better.

To realise my potential.

I was wasting time waiting for training.

I needed a challenge.

Some men felt out of place on the Lower Deck:

Life in the lower deck was not my cup of tea (Harry)

On day one I realised I wasn't lower deck (Tim)

For Ray who had thought himself as being middle class moving into a rating married quarters came as a shock:

We moved in to a quarters, and after a few days I said I can't live here it's like a bloody council estate. (Ray)

Clearly for Ray there was a distinct difference in his perception of himself and where he was positioned by the Navy as rating.

Extraordinary reasons -for two participants, their reasoning may be considered with irony as both men reached a high rank:

To avoid sea time. (Trevor-Captain)

And perversely

I wanted to leave the Navy as soon as possible. (Vincent-Commodore)

Vincent realised that to become an officer and then give notice was quicker than doing the sixteen years he had signed up for. He went on to become a Commodore.

For some officers there was a skills shortage that meant positions needed to be filled:

They needed officers in my branch. A few months before, many officers and senior rates had been sent to prison for a major fraud in the catering. They were short of good people and needed people with a strong moral compass to get things sorted. (Steve)

Lack of money to leave

Discharge by purchase was not an option as I didn't have the money, so I just got on with it (Paul)

A Sense of destiny. One officer was very clear in both his written response and interview stating:

I had wanted to command a warship since the age of eight. (Connor)

Connor did go on to command warships. For this man, who had never known his parents and had been orphaned living in children's homes until joining the Navy at fifteen, there was a clear sense of identity that included the belief he had the requirements for military command. His strong identification with naval command from a young age may have helped to create a sense of self and destiny that was clear and undoubting in his potential, unlike many of the others in this research. His age at time of interview – eighty one, indicates that he would have been influenced by the many media portrayals of World War two officership, indeed at age eight it would have been 1942 and it is possible that a specific event or portrayal at that time prompted a desire that came to fruition many years later.

Ambition and social mobility were cited:

Pure ambition. (Chris)

My ambition since I was a teenager. (James)

Better pay and prospects (Finn)

Several men recognised the implications of officer status in the wider domain and the importance of institutionalised signifiers of success and progression, George explains it clearly:

I saw my promotion as a way of achieving a higher status professionally and socially.

I was also attracted by the uniform. As ratings we were motivated by badges and stripes to signify our status and achievements. (George)

I was ambitious. I wanted the uniform and to be honest I liked the idea of people saluting me. (Lionel)

Uniform and gold braid are what Sennett & Cobb (1973 p.55) would call 'Badges of Ability'. They demonstrate to the outside world and in this case the naval world, where you stand in the hierarchy. They tell others how worthy you are. As can be seen the reasons for promotion were varied and wide ranging and many of the participants talked about a 'sense of destiny'. Cooley (1902 p.295) recognised the indeterminate nature of social mobility, 'personal ascendancy is not necessarily dependent upon any palpable deed in which power

is manifested... there is a conviction of power and an expectation of success that go before the deed and control the minds of men without reason'. More importantly Cooley understood that destiny is not 'confined to any class', the men above undertook the route to promotion for many different reasons despite the difficulties that not only lay ahead but those they had left behind, some of which had been considerable.

The officers had 'something intersubjectively in common' (Jenkins 1996 p.102) so for whatever reason the promotion was considered there was a commonality of aim and purpose. There was a clear and profound understanding of the exclusive nature of naval officership, not just a personal interpretation but an understanding that 'the world' recognised it as a high status occupation. As Sennett & Cobb (1973 p.75) note, the individual is 'subject to a scheme of values that tells him he must validate [him] self in order to win other's respect and his own:

I wanted the uniform. To wear the uniform of a Royal Navy Officer shows the world you are part of the elite. (Mike)

For many family responsibilities were part of the decision making process:

I wasted eight years doing nothing really, but then when the kids came along and I realised I would stay where I was forever, I started to work hard. (Tony)

I got married and started to take life more seriously. (Les)

This is reflected by Dai who recognised that there could be a 'better' life and that upward social mobility was a worthy thing:

I had married and I wanted to better myself.

An identity as a father as well as a husband indicated to some the need to provide better for the family. These men identified the role of husband and father synonymous with the role of provider, their perceptions of what a 'good' and 'proper' husband and father did was strongly tied to providing a stable home, security and giving the family status.

I did it to get security for my family. (Scott)

I wanted to educate myself and my wife and children as much as possible according to our aptitudes and saw officer status as a means of encouraging all of us and providing us with a good secure lifestyle. (Johnny)

Several respondents mentioned that the decision had been shared with spouses:

We decided it would be good for us, it [promotion] provided better housing, better pension, and a more interesting job. (Tim)

There was awareness of the difficulties that lay ahead as expressed by Hugh:

Both my wife and I agonised over the consequences of promotion for quite some time as it represented a different lifestyle. But we both agreed to give it a try.

Clearly he and his wife knew that lifestyle, in terms of conduct, modes of dress and general daily activity would alter and they would have to position themselves within the new framework. The role of the wife as instigator or joint decision maker in the promotion process demonstrates how couples see and negotiate their futures in unison. Although there is a clearly marked demarcation between the role of husband and wife in a naval family, any promotion received by the husband in effect promotes the wife too. For Bourdieu (1984 p.282) people deploy 'conversion techniques ... to create and accumulate symbolic capital' in this case rank converts to economic and status capital for both partners in the marriage.

There were rewards as Dave notes:

Julie was the driving force in me getting promoted, I was... I was... but she saw the advantages. Dave

Dave's hesitation shows that he had been apprehensive about the move but his wife was the driving force. His wife had been a WREN rating and would have been fully aware of the

advantages of promotion, she clearly pushed her husband to make the jump to officer. It could have been the promotion that she deserved but never got, having to leave the WRENS to have her children. The 'joint' promotion was important to her it showed the civilian and Navy world that she was not only worthy of being an officers wife but being an officer herself. Although many wives supported the promotion they realised it came with a price to pay:

My initial fears when he said he was going for promotion was more separation and I used to worry about him being away, I didn't like him going away, I worried about him. (Jean)

I felt like I had lost him to the Navy. In a way, if he got promoted I knew he wouldn't come out and that we were in it for the long run. (Josie)

Some wives were excluded from the decision making process; for one officer he presumed his wife did not understand enough to be part of the decision making process:

No I didn't ask her, it had nothing really to do with her, it was my work, my world, she didn't really understand it. (Tony)

And for another he thought his wife would not agree so he went ahead without telling her:

I knew she wouldn't like it, she was not very ambitious, I didn't bother saying much, I just told her I was going on a course. (Mike)

In many cases the wife was not only complicit but took the lead role especially when the husband was shy or lacking confidence:

We got married when I was a twenty one year old leading seaman, she always gave me encouragement, I was a bit nervous but she said 'you can do it'. (Liam)

Many officers discussed how their parents, particularly the mother, had strong views on their progression through the Navy. The family as the primary agent of socialisation was influential in both the decision to join the Navy and the perception of identity amongst the

officers. For the wife and mother social mobility is a goal to show what they can do- as their day to day roles do not validate their lives (Bourdieu 2001 p.97) Ambitious mothers had plans for their sons and for some women it was a way of providing mobility for themselves. Pushing the son forward the women pushed the family 'upwards'. For example Chris said of his mother:

She had plans for social mobility, she was the ultimate pushy mother, she showed me table manners how to use a knife and fork and she made it clear who I could mix with. (Chris)

Chris went on to describe how his mother had deliberately distanced herself from her own family, as he described it 'discarded' her own family. His mother had worked as a cleaner and as soon as his mother had left home she had nothing to do with her own family. Once he was born she focused on bringing him up 'the right way, her need for self-worth was channelled through a desire for her son to 'be something'. Despite her ambitions she reproduced patriarchal patterns by directing her plans through her husband. Chris described how his mother 'delegated her pushiness and 'directions' 'to her husband who was told strictly what to tell his son and instruct him in 'better ways'. When discussing his achievement he consistently did so within the framework of both pleasing his mother and positioning the family 'where they belonged.

This was the case for Paul too, who described his mother as being:

Very down when I had to join as a rating... she had more in more in mind for me

He finally became an officer after eleven years and:

She was happy then, it seemed like I was her son again after years of not really approving of my life.

A difficult parental relationship was sometimes the driving force behind the successful career as Rob wrote:

I joined the Navy because my father and I were like the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Verbal missiles were the order of the day and I just needed to escape... My father refused to let me stay on for A levels which I resented...a random walk past the Navy

careers office found me in the RN six weeks later. My father believed I would last six weeks. Possibly his negative judgement of me was sufficient motivation to not return to that environment.

And Neil:

My Father went from 'why did you join the Navy?'... To being quite proud when I was selected for officer.

There were then a number of reasons that ratings applied for officership and this decision initiated the commencement of the process to commissioned officer status.

Qualifying

It is one of the most exclusive clubs in the world being a Royal Navy officer. (Ray)

Naval personnel are fully aware of the exclusivity and exceptional nature of Naval officership and this theme is returned to time and again.

Once the decision has been made to go for promotion, for whatever reason, the rating commences on the journey to commissioned officer status. The Navy will already have considerable information on candidates as Janowitz (1964 p.145) recognised: 'The military profession... is engaged in a continuous process of informally rating their superiors, peers, and subordinates'. This practise is also formally undertaken with reviews, reports and appraisals being completed by Commanding and other officers in establishments and on ships.

When a rating goes for promotion he is taking a huge step from which he cannot return. Although this movement is clear in terms of rank and occupational progression, what is not known is what it *feels like* to be an officer. The other indeterminate element is the *essence* of officership, the ethereal qualities that are required to perform the role. In the words of Captain Paul Quinn regarding the challenge in becoming an officer: 'It requires moral courage'. By using the word moral, Captain Quinn infers it is an honourable move, one which is admirable and to be respected; it is socially altruistic and superior to other occupations. Captain Quinn suggests that the promotion process requires courage and its subsequent result – being an officer with all of the responsibility it entails is daunting and

challenging, requiring daring and nerve. Naval promotion is a clear 'status attainment process' Lin (2011 p.78).

The promotion process includes; the attainment of academic qualifications, the support of senior personnel including a senior rate and officer such as divisional officer or first lieutenant, attending an Admiralty Interview Board (AIB) and a program of training colloquially called the 'knife and fork' course.

i. Academic Qualifications and Exams

The chart below shows the qualifications that the group had on joining the Navy.

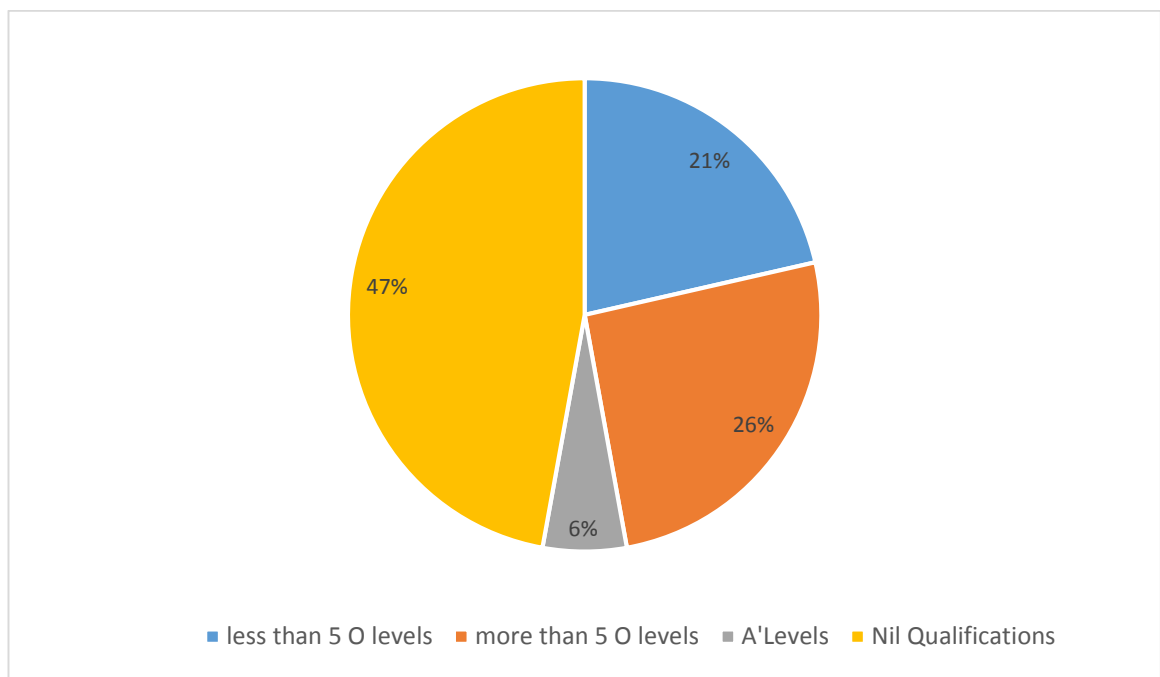


Table.3 Academic Qualifications on Entry⁵⁴

The promotion process at whatever time it came during the career was considered by many of the interviewees to be very difficult. For the many men who had no or few academic qualifications on joining the Navy the first step was to acquire the necessary academic qualifications for officership. This was a difficult process for many requiring strong self-discipline and a capacity to work alone. Although some ships had education officers on board, on a working warship there was no time to allow individuals time off work to study and it was the expectation that candidates would study in their own time and in the dog

⁵⁴ Most participants went to school when O levels were taken, the GCSE and Scottish equivalent are included in these figures.

watches⁵⁵. For young men on large mess decks where sometimes up to sixty other men would be living this was not easy. Studying required not only application to the contents of the syllabus but considerable self-discipline and restraint. The rating had to have belief in himself as there was an historical perception that those of his rank were not suitable for officership:

I think the Naval Secretary made a statement saying that 'upper yard men did not have the intellectual capacity to serve in the higher ranks of the service' – it made me determined to do it. (John)

To prove academic ability was a major hurdle:

The hardest part was getting the academic qualifications. (Tony)

It was difficult to get the academic qualifications, I had done crap at school. (Jeff)

To get the first four O levels was the most difficult thing. (Rob)

It was hard work, I worked through the dog watches, they gave you no extra time off, you just had to get on with it. You came off watch and then you got your books out. I was the Captain's runner at the time and this meant that you could be on call day and night but then you had to fit the studying in on top of that. (Bernard)

The range of approaches to gaining qualifications was wide and comprised of both courses run by the Navy on ships and at establishments, and independent studies:

I gained 6 O levels by self-study, distance learning and RN educational courses. (Giles)

The Navy... introduced a scheme whereby selected ratings not educationally qualified for entry to BRNC but otherwise recommended, were drafted to Ganges⁵⁶ ... on an education course to obtain the necessary 5 O levels. (George)

⁵⁵ A dog watch is a split shift or period of work, the term as used above, means his time off watch.

⁵⁶ Ganges was a notoriously harsh training establishment for ratings.

The Navy courses were demanding and immersed candidates in study to gain quick results:

I did not have O level physics. So in typical Navy fashion I was sent on a course and passed it in six weeks. (Wayne)

Not all candidates were so successful;

The first time I failed, it was a severe hit. (Kit)

Other officer candidates who had already acquired vocational qualifications to gain the rate of Petty Officer or Chief petty Officer did not find it any easier:

It was very hard getting there. (Mike)

There were a few who sailed through without too much trouble such as Tony:

I just passed everything they put in my way, I didn't fail anything. Not once.

As each exam obstacle was passed, it contributed to an even stronger sense of self-belief and assuredness that they were doing the right thing. The Navy provided excellent opportunities for those who wished to take them and although the work was difficult, the education was received gratefully by those who took advantage of what was offered:

The Navy is brilliant at offering you maths and English at sea. You have an education officer who coordinates it. I did seven GCSEs through the Navy... it's all there if the penny drops and you take the opportunity. (Mike)

My feelings of pride and relief that I had passed all the hurdles were immense. (James)

The exam, as part of the naval bureaucratic procedure that enables promotion, verifies the examinees' potential for officership and becomes part of recognition of status within the navy. The exam as an institution gives prominence to men who previously would not have been considered for promotion. As Smart (1985 p.87) acknowledges, 'through the

mechanism of the examination individuals are located in the field of visibility.’ For Weber a bureaucratic, exam-based system is an essential component of ‘military training and discipline’ (1948d), examinations rationalise selection by ‘proving’ expertise. There is however a distinct case in the Navy that in contrast to Weber’s suggestion that certification is a ‘setback for talent (charisma)’, the naval officer is expected to have both- educational proof and charismatic authority.

For Foucault the exam is a ‘normalizing’ process that takes away any nonconformist routes to commissioned officer status in the Navy. There is no route to officership without the prerequisite pieces of paper (Foucault 1977 p.184). The certificated are acknowledged by the Naval hierarchy as suitable to replicate the officer ideal, in other words they want to uphold their own status and consider academic qualification as one way to eliminate those not ‘up to it’.

Within an armed service there is always an operational requirement for individuals to function as officers. However the system has to ensure that ‘standards are maintained’ and one of the ways of doing this is to restrict the number of people who hold commissioned officer rank, thus upholding the status identity for the whole officer corps. Bourdieu (1996 p.287) recognized that ‘all reproduction strategies imply a form of *numerus clausus*... [fulfilling] the function of inclusion and exclusion that maintains the corps at a constant size’ and therefore maintaining its elite nature. In addition to maintaining a base academic level for officership, the ceremony of exam suites the military mind-set and reinforces the importance of procedural and bureaucratic process in the military. It also provides a clearly identifiable set of criteria which are understandable within the context of naval methodology.

The examination is highly ritualized [it combines] the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment , the deployment of force and the establishment of truth... it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected (Foucault 1977 p.184)

The idea of the exam exposing ‘the truth’ is powerful and reinforces in the candidate the need conform and comply with the actuality of officership. The exam is an exercise of power preventing those who cannot fulfil the expectations of the exam from rising higher through the ranks of the organisation. Passing the exam engenders a new ontological understanding of self, promoting self-esteem and provoking a sense of officer worth

enabling the individual to feel more confident about participating in the next stage of officer recruitment.

ii. The Admiralty Interview Board

On gaining the required academic qualifications and being recommended by the relevant senior personnel, the candidate is asked to attend the Admiralty Interview Board. Recommendation for the board lays with those who observe the rating corps and decide who goes forward to the board. Divisional and Executive officers, senior rates and other senior staff responsible for ratings, observe and record details about their subordinates. Assessment and judgments are made on leadership qualities, and abilities – both technical and intellectual – are evaluated as a rating proceeds with his career. On the basis of these observations decisions are made as to whether a rating is suitable for promotion. From the day a man joins the Navy he is subject to observation and evaluation and it is a form of continuous examination. Thus ‘examination facilitates the exercise of disciplinary power by objectifying subjects through observation’ (Hoffman in Taylor 2011 p.32).

So having passed the required base line exams and been assessed as suitable the individual attends the Admiralty Interview Board. This is the most significant element of the promotion process. The current description of the board includes the following details of areas to be tested and is copied from the Royal Navy’s website, it illustrates the expected areas of competency:

Effective intelligence – where you can demonstrate common sense and the ability to solve practical and intellectual problems.

Leadership – where you show signs of leadership but can also be an effective team member.

Powers of communication – where you communicate verbally and non-verbally.

Values – where you display the values of commitment, courage, discipline, respect for others, integrity and loyalty.

Motivation – where you demonstrate developed understanding and reasons for wanting to join.

These details describe the current areas of assessment but they have been similar throughout the period researched. As can be seen the assessment areas are not so clear

cut as a straight forward exam system and require elements of evaluation that are either difficult or impossible to define concisely. During the assessment, candidates will be have to display and demonstrate both the 'correct' corporeal embodiment, relevant cultural capital and attitude. For Foucault 'disciplinary power judges according to the norm' (Hoffman in Taylor 2011 p.32) and the examination reproduces the 'norm'. Any deviance from the norm – such as bad posture, language or linguistic faux pas, a lack of officer bearing or a perceived lack of determination and courage will be seen to be unacceptable and promotion will be prevented. There are field-specific laws and rules which are only understood by those totally immersed in and familiar with the field. The successful Navy officer becomes the embodiment of the field by complying with its norms, any deviation from these norms has limits beyond which access to the field is denied (Grenfell 2012 67). As Janowitz (1964p.148) notes 'personnel officers and selection boards have more or less clear-cut images of what constitutes the ideal '. The AIB searches for and thus reproduces the embodiment of the Royal Navy officer.

One of the essential elements that will be considered for those moving from the rating corps will be whether they can make the change from a subordinate to superordinate role, in effect turning their backs on their naval history to date and undertaking a new personal naval demeanour. The candidate may harbour inner conflict as he realises that he is about to have a new naval identity. For example, there may be a discrepancy between his expressed desire to be an officer and his 'over-all reality' as a rating (Goffman 1959 p. 52). This new reality forces the candidate to approach his new life with an outward air of confidence and he has to put to one side the memories of the extremely hard and stressful work that has been undertaken to get where he is. The potential new officer has to present as a 'real' officer throughout the assessment process and any doubts or uncertainties have to be hidden.

Goffman (1959 p.53) recognised there may be considerable sacrifice for the upwardly mobile who undertake a new role in life. In the Navy, this sacrifice will not just be the considerable time spent in study for officership but the emotional strain of leaving the mess behind, the sacrifice of losing friends to make a move up the career ladder and getting rid of 'unsuitable' characteristics that do not align with the new role. Putt (1943 p.58) recognised the problem of role exchange from subordinate to superordinate: 'It is all the more difficult...for men to whom subservience was itself an acquired technique to unlearn all this overnight [on becoming an officer]'.

iii. **Playing the Game**

If a person wishes to sustain a particular image of himself and trust his feelings to it, he must work hard for the credits that will buy this self enhancement for him (Lemert & Branaman 1997 p.109).

The rating hoping for promotion has to gain these 'credits' and alongside them has to demonstrate that he has a 'feel for the game', in this case he has to show he can operate within the officer habitus (Grenfell 2012 p.152). This can be very difficult when an individual lacks confidence in the field in which he is about to operate. Bourdieu (1998 p.78) suggests that 'Every social field... requires those entering it to have the relationship to the field [called] *illusio*'. *Illusio* allows the actor to believe that the game is worth playing and 'attributes importance to it' (p.78) as it leads to a successful outcome. The actor is a conduit in the relationship between the subjective and objective organisation of social space. Bourdieu (1990b p.53) suggests that actors are not always 'conscious[ly] aiming at ends' and individuals may not have 'express mastery of the operations necessary to acquire them' but Lahire (2011p.2) recognised that 'the actor is a strategist'. This is recognised by participants:

You need to know what the game is and how to play it. (Ray)

Bourdieu (1992 p.117) suggests that there are 'rites of institution' that an individual has to go through to legitimate their place in the group. Candidates hoping for promotion were fully aware of what the specified academic requirements were, but recognised too that there were other attributes or skills they needed to present as suitable for the job. Candidates are obliged to interact in a way which 'maximises profit' (Grenfell 2012 p.152) in what Janowitz (1964 p.145) calls the 'tactics of promotion'.

Many officers recognised the need for networking and less obvious ways of 'climbing the ladder'. Sports, hobbies, pass-times and even the school you sent your children to could influence the promotion process. The promotion process requires an understanding and willingness to participate in a range of social interfaces as Lin (2001p.27) affirms: 'Research in social networks has stressed the importance of bridges in networks...in facilitating information and influence flows'. These 'influence flows' are a critical exchange between those who want to join a group and those who have the power to admit them. Janowitz (1964 p.145) also suggests that 'in building a reputation, each young officer has the task of coming to the attention of important officers'. Bourdieu recognised that in the 'games of

society' (Bourdieu 1986), success is dependent on knowing the right people- to have 'social capital'. Social networks are a 'resource' that can be utilised to gain advantage. There is a need to not only increase the number of people in the social network but also to ensure that the value of acquaintances is high. In this context, knowing officers socially is essential and many participants recognised this:

You have to get in the right social circle, be seen to play the right sports and have the right hobbies and interests. It gets you into the right social circle. (Mike)

What you did in your day job was almost irrelevant. If you played golf you were on your way to the top, if you could play polo well you would make it to Commodore! (Ray)

You need networking skills. (Sam)

The sites for these exchanges were varied, across a range of extracurricular activity outside of daily work routines.

You do what you can to get in the public eye, the right people need to know you are there. (Sol)

You need to stick out, be seen. I went into local schools and did talks. You have to do something that makes you stand out. Tony

Going to church, you're seen every Sunday, when you want your papers raised church is the place to be seen. Alan

Several officers mentioned the naval drama groups as important as a place to be seen. The cultural milieu of the Navy drama society being described by one participant as being 'ward room centrique'. Many suggested that Petty Officers and Chief Petty Officers joined the drama society to be seen and get promoted. The utilisation of the drama society as a place in which to gain social advantage complies with Lin's (2011 p.55) suggestion that 'social capital focuses on the resources embedded in one's social network... use of such resources

benefits the individual's actions'. The drama society, perceived as an 'officerly clique' not only introduces social contacts but affirms to the individual that they are worthy of officership:

It suggests you are the right person to be promoted, you know being in the drama society. (Gary)

The promotion [system] would say something like 'he's a bright boy he runs the theatre club... it was the extraneous things that got you promoted... you need to be in some activity that gets you noticed. (Dave)

The ethos and aims of the drama club can be seen in the extract below from the program of a recent production at HMS Sultan.

Sultan Theatre Group – An Invitation to Join Us

Firstly, the official bit..... *“The Royal Navy Theatre Association (RNTA) exists to enhance the confidence, team-working and leadership qualities of service and civilian personnel through the medium of drama, and to foster good relationships between those from different backgrounds relating to the Service.”*

But what does that actually mean? Do you have to make a

57

These forms of social and cultural involvement offered a means of gaining social and cultural capital. The theatre club and sports teams are highly regarded in the Navy and participation in such groups demonstrates competence in highly valued skills and increased levels of commitment as they are undertaken voluntarily. The theatre club in particular was seen to offer considerable social influence with the perception of it being 'posh' and offered an opportunity for ratings to socialise with officers in an informal way without the constraints and discipline of the sports field. In addition it enabled individuals to refine performance skills which could be utilised in their enactment of officership.

⁵⁷ This extract is taken from the HMS Sultan Christmas pantomime programme 2016. Robin Hood was performed in the theatre at HMS Sultan in November 2016.

Just being in a group was not enough, there a perceived need to kowtow to those from whom patronage was required:

Yes I engaged in an extensive grovelling campaign. (Sol)

And a clearly perceived correlation between participation and 'points':

I could play an instrument, I joined the volunteer marching band, it gave me brownie points. (Steve)

Some clearly recognised the importance of sporting prowess as a personal means that gave them human/social capital:

I was a high profile sportsman and spent many hours with officers in many sports except rugby. I was therefore mixing in a strong officer circle and was readily accepted by them. (Joe)

Because I was a sportsman I had more familiarity with officers. (Dave)

Years of training with officers and innate physical skills given to the Navy in the form of sport performance is a way of 'acquiring personal resources through exchange' (Lin (2001 p.42) as participation gives access to superordinates on a level playing field. However, even within this exchange of goods -sport for 'points', there was recognition of a finely tuned 'cultural capital' points gradation, and some sports were not the 'right' activities for the officers:

I was good at football so I played all the time for Navy, you have to be seen to be doing something. The problem is that football is not an officer's sport so it didn't get me points. (Tony)

Football is not an officer's sport. (Mark)

Others were highly regarded:

Being in the Field Gun is the classic one, the field gun opens doors, it shows you have discipline and balls – it can be dangerous. (Jack)

Social and human capital as resources can be utilised in the gaining of rank capital. Within naval context, sporting prowess is a highly prized asset that does not necessarily have to be supported by material or financial assets. Sport in the Navy does not require the individual to contribute financially as training, fees and kit is provided for most activities. Although proficiency in some sports such as skiing, sailing or golf may require the participant to have some previous experience – relying on family money or habitus, the Navy considers sports participation as noble and welcomes new partakers who demonstrate a willingness to learn and participate. A willingness to join and try new activities pays back as ‘social capital exerts an important and significant effect beyond that accounted for by personal resources’ (Lin 2011 p.79).

In this exchange of resources there is what Lin (p.47) calls a *heterophilous* interchange- one in which the two sides have ‘dissimilar resources’. Although the participant is giving his time and effort there is still a differential in the power dynamics between the two sides and being the subordinate in the relationship can require considerable effort. A delicate game of rank related interaction occurs where there is a need for the ambitious to show skills in the activity and deference to those from whom he seeks backing.

You still had that conundrum, do you call them John on the pitch or Sir. Dave

The playing field should ignore all the Sir shit, but you know you find yourself doing it, you don’t want to cock up. It makes you on edge to be honest, even in a game. Rob

Lin (2011) suggests that both sides have to tread cautiously and that this type of relationship requires ‘great effort’. The superordinate have to be equally cautious as there cannot be any perceived favouritism or even worse a mistake if a beneficiary turns out to be inadequate or ineffective in some way. Nevertheless, for Janowitz (1964 p.147) social interaction or ‘informal communications’ as above, increased the ‘potentiality for promotion’ in the military. In addition, as Putt (1943 p.58) acutely described ‘a last-minute course of intensive obsequiousness will help a man to gain command’.

iv. Leaving the Mess Behind

When everything is lined up and the hurdles have been cleared; exams are passed, social capital gained and corporeal presentation has been tuned to the officer ideal. The rating is ready for promotion. Any support and camaraderie experienced in their rating lives is suddenly cut off both officially and unofficially.

One of the first things you are told is officers are not to socialise with sailors. (Captain Quinn)

All that was stable and reliable in their rating lives disappears. There can be considerable ontological disturbance for some at this point. Tajfel (1981 p.139) suggests that group membership is a 'significant component of one's self concept' and by implication the idea of moving away from the group will cause a disturbance of perception of self and identity. Among my respondents, candidates had periods of self-doubt and for some, their mess mates or other personnel created tension and self-doubt and negativity:

I remember some of my lower deck colleagues resenting the fact that I was trying out for the AIB. (Len)

Once the promotion process had begun there was no going back and many felt that they were leaving their mates behind or were subject to negative criticism from both mess mates and senior rates and in some cases officers. Some officer candidates were so anxious about the potential loss of friends that they kept it quiet:

I was almost too embarrassed to get my papers raised. It felt like a slight to the lads, it felt like you were changing gangs. (Mark)

The analogy to gangs recognises the oppositional nature of the rating /officer relationship. The tribal nature of the mess deck embedding strong group allegiance which is thrown into turmoil for the individual who wants to leave but also a resentment for those who would be left behind:

I remember thinking that I needed to keep things to myself, as a number of mess mates would not have been pleased at all with my seeking selection for upper yardman. (Barry)

When you raise your papers it is as if you are saying to your friends that you no longer want to be part of their group, and many will assume that you think you are better than they are. (Mark)

These feelings could be very strong as the cohesive practices of the mess deck had created a rating culture and a sense of belonging which was difficult to leave. Goldthorpe (1980 p.189) suggest that social mobility does not lead to social isolation but for the officers, the point of applying for promotion initiated the first feelings of estrangement. Many had not taken into consideration the cleft that would be created by promotion but as Janowitz (1964 p. 204) observes, 'upward social mobility into any elite position requires a careful shedding of older friends' and many did not find this easy:

I lost all my friends... (John)

I lost all my rating friends except one. (Rob)

Yes we left friends behind, we just moved on. (Martin)

Some recognised that there was an element of resentment from mess-mates especially senior rates who were remaining in the mess:

Strangely it was the Chief who had to process the initial request who seemed to resent it the most. (Nicholas)

It was those who hadn't or couldn't make it that were destructive. (Will)

Social solidarity had been challenged and there was a feeling of 'moral uneasiness' (Collins 2004 p.22-25) as relationships between men changed. For some officers promoted through the Upper Yardmen Scheme the promotion process was particularly difficult because they initially continued to live on the mess deck as they undertook their studies towards promotion:

I was selected for the upper yardman scheme. In such a position I was between the devil and the deep blue sea. I lived with ratings but worked with officers. My rating colleagues no longer trusted me as I was going to be 'one of them'. (Rob)

Goffman (1959 p.96) suggests that 'in large social establishments... participants ...are typically expected to align themselves... into team groupings' and it is clear that ontological security is threatened when a person has to change teams. Tajfel (1981 p.301) defines social mobility as 'the exit of an individual from his group' and in this case the men leaving the mess decks become what Friedman (2014) describes as 'culturally [and socially] homeless'.

They know that group membership is strong enough to 'permit discrimination against out-group members' and that is how they will be seen once they have decided to become officers. In this case it is not only the leaving of a group, the act is intertwined with notions of status and hierarchy. For Jenkins (1996) group membership is a primary generative source of identity, and identity is 'bound up with classification', for ratings moving away from their group they know that others will see this as a betrayal at the same time acknowledging that they are 'moving up' in a very visual way that uniquely exists in the military.

Summary

97.2% of the promoted men saw their identity as 'somewhere on the working class scale' on entry into the Navy, thus having a self-identification that aligned itself with the working class domain of the lower decks.

The promotion process was complex and demanding and required individuals to have courage and determination whilst studying under duress. They needed to acquire certificates of academic competence that ensured status maintenance of the officer group. The Admiralty Interview Board required officer candidates to demonstrate a range of embodied features deemed essential for officership, again this helped to maintain group status.

Officers embarked on a range of networking strategies that were part of 'playing the game', these activities were engaged in to acquire social and cultural capital.

Leaving the mess behind broke the rules of solidarity of the ranting corps and thus created rifts with mess mates and personal anxiety.

Chapter.7 The Officer World - Part 1

The Embodiment of Officership

First Feelings -the Knife and Fork Course

You are about to join one of the most exclusive clubs in the world. (Charlie)

After passing the Admiralty Interview Board the new officer has to embark on an officers training course, this is very different to the one which was completed on joining the Navy as a rating. Whilst rating training is designed to create a subordinate persona, the officer's course aims to create a leader who commands authority over others. Initial training engenders an oppositional context between ratings and officers which becomes part of naval life. A rating's primary socialisation into the Navy consists of a controlled lifestyle and regulatory practices which position him as a subordinate and allows the institution to 'control the body in order to submit the recruit to the authority of the regime' (Newlands 2013). The cultural and social norms and practices of ratings, as has been seen, differ considerably from that of officers.

On being commissioned as an officer the promoted rating has to then undertake further 'initial' training or secondary naval socialization. As Berger & Luckman (1966 p.158) suggest 'secondary socialisation is the internalization of ...institution based sub-worlds' and the new officer enters a sub world which had previously been seen as one in opposition to the rating domain.

Time served before promotion was varied:

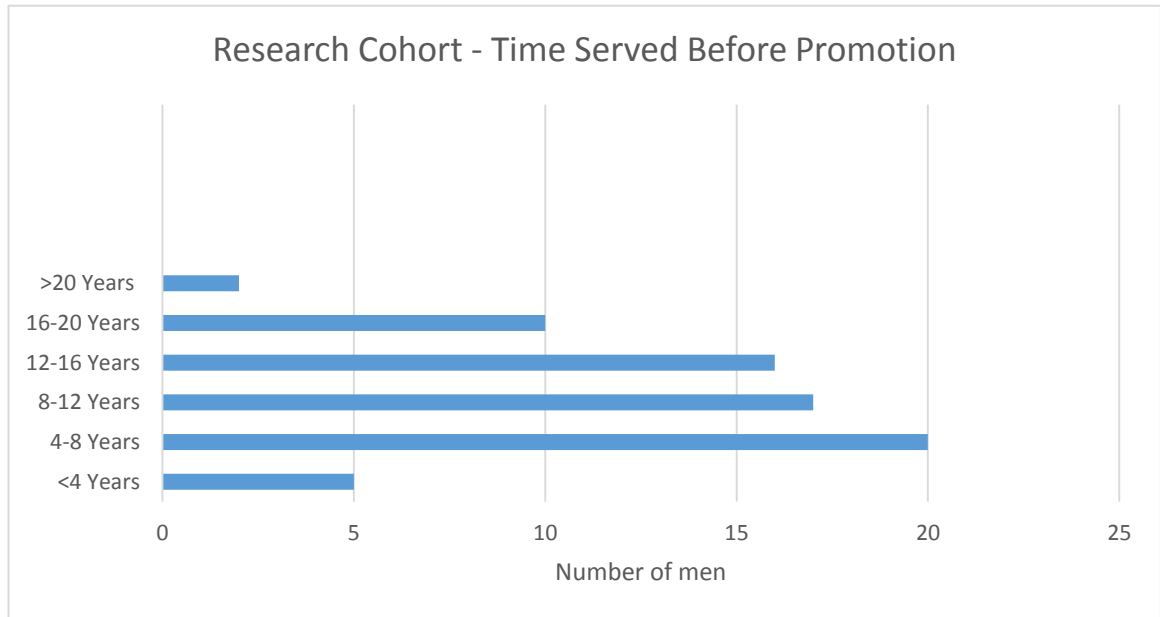


Table.4

Time served before promotion was a significant element in the response to officership. It was a surprise to discover that 64.5% of the officers interviewed had served for eight years or more as ratings, two of them for more than twenty years. This was surprising because the longer an individual is in a group the more difficult it is to move to another (Tajfel, 1981). These men had served all of their lower deck apprenticeship and would have been fully embedded in lower deck life. Although 43% had reached senior rate they would still be aligned with the rating corps. Only 7% of the men had served less than 4 years. It can be seen that a significant rating identity would have been established and the men would have benefitted from strong rating support mechanisms- cohesive practices official and informal providing a strong sense of community within the mess decks and in their working and home lives.

Many of the participants found that on arriving at the officer training college they suffered an instant dislocation of their rating identity, ontological rationality was thrown into disarray and feelings of hysteresis (Bourdieu 1977b p.78) and psychological imbalance were for some considerable. For Bourdieu, hysteresis exists when 'the environment with which they [the newcomer] are confronted is distant from that to which they are objectively fitted' (p.78). In my research, the new environment for the participants was significantly at odds with the previous 'conditions of existence'.

Nothing prepared me for the complete change that was to take place. (Hugh-served 19 years before promotion)

Despite his experience in naval service the new officer is at once a 'new recruit' again. Being a 'new recruit' strips the individual of the support given to him by 'certain stable social arrangements in his home world [in this case his rating world]' (Lemert & Branaman 1997). The new status of officer suggests social, behavioural and cultural expectations of a different kind to that previously anticipated. An officer is seen a professional both inside and outside the military, and officership is a 'complete style of life' (Janowitz 1960 p.175).

The officers' training course is colloquially known as the 'Knife and Fork Course' and the term reflects the considerable time devoted to matters of etiquette in all forms; correct eating and drinking practices, letter writing, social skills when at functions for naval personnel, dignitaries and 'important guests'; marks of respect, ceremonial drill (with swords for officers) the wearing of uniforms for daily wear and special occasions and numerous other areas of conduct and behaviour (for instance, several interviewees had been given ballroom dancing lessons).

Foucault (1977) discussed in depth the way in which the body can be transformed by training and officer training is in some ways a continuation of the drills and movements learnt in rating training. It develops what is learnt in movement and meaning. Movements such as marching and saluting are given new meaning by support devices such as the new uniform, the carrying of a sword instead of a rifle and the receiving of a salute instead of the giving of a salute. The mechanisms of movement are the same but order of movement and wearing of props give new meaning to these movements. The body of an officer becomes the object of power not the target (Foucault 1977 p.136) through the process of training or 'construction'; 'the soldier [is] something which can be made... the machine required can be constructed' (p.136).

The course is an essential component of officer training and is an educational process designed to deliver 'credentials [that] signify acquisition of both human capital and institutional capital' (Lin 2011 p.19). The acquisition of these new capitals is a transformatory process that commences with the journey to the training establishment. Woodward (in Highgate 2003 p.51) describes transformation as 'a spatialized process... the body's physical location and its occupancy of space contribute to [the] experience and expression of transformation'. Woodward continues to suggest 'bodies and environments

reproduce each other'. The officer in training contributes to the environment and in turn the environment reflects the officer persona – ensuring that the officer ideal is perpetuated and preserved and continued. The journey to the officers' training establishment was recognised by individuals as being the moment beyond which there was no turning back, a transformatory life changing passage both literally and metaphorically:

I got on the train in Rosyth as a rating and when I arrived in Dartmouth⁵⁸ I was an officer. (Tim)

The transition is really strange. It felt as though I had ditched my Chief's cap on the way to Greenwich⁵⁹. (Paul)

For these men reconstruction of the self commences by making a physical journey and it was widely recognized that the conversion had not only commenced but occurred with some speed.

As every day goes by you are turning into someone else. (Mark)

There was widespread recognition of the challenge ahead; for Bernard whose youth and obliviousness helped to shield him from any feelings of inadequacy -

I was so very young, only twenty years old and in the ward room. It felt odd to start with, I was very young but then maybe that worked in my favour I was a bit naïve and didn't fully understand the role I had been placed in. (Bernard)

The situation was quite different for those who recognised that it was a new beginning despite having a considerable number of years' service.

Having been to the top of the rating tree it was odd being at the bottom again. (Paul)

Several interviewees reflected on their resistance to becoming one of the opposition. For example:

I didn't want to become 'one of them', I resisted it in a way. (Mitch)

Mitch's comment expresses the dichotomy between wanting to move forward in his career yet hedging against what he perceived to be joining the 'other side'. It also conceals the

⁵⁸ Officers training is usually conducted at Britannia Royal Naval College (BRNC) in Dartmouth

⁵⁹ Greenwich was another location for Officer training, there were other establishments for the participants in this study dependent on the era in which they served. BRNC is now the only Officer training establishment.

fact that ultimately all members, regardless of rank believe in the institution. There is a collective consciousness (Morrison 2006 p.169) that is created through 'a body of beliefs, practices and customary enactments', shared within a naval framework. It is heretical to challenge rank (Kovitz, 2003 p.9) yet the newly promoted officer defies the orthodoxy of rating/officer relationships by moving from one to the other and consequently there may be a feeling of discomfort when entering the new officer world.

The knife and fork course is an unambiguous scheme of cultural and symbolic domination, in which participants are subjected to training that imposes upon them the expected norms of officer behaviour and conduct. There is no doubt that its main function is to create an officer and gentlemanly ideal in individuals who must conform to expectations of the Royal Navy and the wider world civilian world. The strangeness of new cultural norms being imposed of them was noted by many such as Mark:

The knife and fork course was fairly surreal. (Mark)

Mark's comment reflects Bachelard's (1958 p.58) observation that 'time and place are impregnated with a sense of unreality...because our past is situated elsewhere.' Many men accepted completely the need for training in areas of protocol and presentation, and few took issue with being told how to eat, drink, dress and behave:

The knife and fork course was ok. You do sword drill and learn how to eat properly, you get given an etiquette book that you had to read and it told you what to do. I thought that was reasonable. (Tony)

For Tony it was 'reasonable' to be told how to eat correctly and as Paul comments below it was 'exciting':

The knife and fork course was actually quite exciting. The first week we had Trafalgar night in the painted hall and Prince Charles came. I had to learn how to tie a real bow tie. (Paul)

But it was clear that he did not consider all aspects of the course of necessity and interest:

They told us how we should go to art galleries and to the theatre so we would know stuff. I didn't think it was the sort of stuff I wanted to know. (Paul)

The idea that attending art galleries and theatre would be of use to him was rejected as something that was unnecessary. The course content was a clear attempt at refining the

men and providing them with a legitimate set of cultural tools to be used during officership. There were cultural expectations that officers had to conform to and they had to recognize that in the officer world ‘things in the aesthetic and commercial domain have a particular moral weight’ (Woodward 2007 p.91). Once these new cultural schemes were learnt, they had to be passed off as natural knowledge and appear to be ‘ingrained in the body as much as in the brain’ (Stewart 2013 p.80). However for Bourdieu (1984), being educated into a higher cultural plane is not easy or authentic. Bourdieu argues that the *mondain*- born into the dominant class, has a lifelong ingrained aesthetic disposition in relation to cultural taste and outlook. In contrast the *pedant*, trained through education, has limited capital (Stewart 2013 p.80) as these legitimated cultural skills take considerable time to learn and cannot be acquainted with in a course such as the knife and fork course⁶⁰. This was recognised clearly by Rob who identified the schema as being one of conversion but illustrates the speed at which skills were to be learned:

The agenda was to convert the raw material from the lower deck to the standards required of a career officer. I can recall elocution and dancing lessons and a two hour fashion show demonstrating correct dress for all occasions, it was all very rushed.
(Rob)⁶¹

Participants recognised the agenda was one of transformation:

‘I was going through a major social ‘metamorphosis...I was acutely aware of some social changes ahead’. John Nixon (2013)⁶²

The range of the course was wide:

Apart from the usual training like cocktail parties, and how to conduct yourself in the ward room... We were taught correct English and how to ‘reacquaint’ ourselves with writing. (Dick)

⁶⁰ The knife and fork course lasted between 6– 12 weeks dependent on the era and location in which it was undertaken. There were different schemes for SD and SUY officers, some incorporating branch training could last up to eighteen months.

⁶¹ The dancing lessons were discussed by many participants and this rather eccentric element of the knife and fork course is illustrated in the film ‘We Joined the Navy’ 1962.

⁶² John Nixon was a participant in this research, the comments named are from his book (2013) additional comments made in writing to the researcher have been anonymised.

'A Commander joined us for meals to observe and coach us... examples being corrected for cutting a bread roll rather than breaking it.' John Nixon (2013 p.183)⁶³

There was plenty of practice in writing service letters... (Scott)

The papers were difficult, you had to sit administration, naval history and the exclusively technical papers some of which were very difficult, on top of that we had to learn manners and service writing. (Claude)

Whilst manners are part of the overall corporeal embodiment of an individual or bodily hexis (Bourdieu 1984), Mead (1934 p.263) suggests that manners are an 'institutional response', in this case they are an institutional obligation. Goffman (1959 p.35) notes how part of a performance includes the style in which someone behaves. The knife and fork course develops an officer flair which becomes part of the expectation. The routine is intertwined with the concept of good manners and these are not only encouraged but prescribed by regulations with regards to interaction with others, particularly those who may be regarded as important or dignitaries. Manners and marks of respect such as politeness are a 'form of deference' (Collins, 2004 p. 19) and 'good' etiquette and displays of respect are part of the hierarchical system that is the foundation of military life.

As the individual passes through the training college there is a conscious effort on behalf of the training establishment to create a complete officer norm. Behaviour is regulated and structured by a process that Foucault describes as 'normalization' and the rating is turned into a 'normal officer' under the 'gaze' (Foucault 1977 p.184) of those making observations on progress.

A convincing performance requires a combination of all of the components of an officer ideal or what Goffman calls the 'social front'. An explicit way of displaying officer skills is to demonstrate faultless drill manoeuvres. The emphasis on marching and drilling and physical movements help to create not only a social front but an innate officer self-consciousness. The connecting of bodily movement with the surroundings in which they are conducted gradually changes the man into an officer, or as Mead (1934 p.172) describes-the 'body becomes a part of the set of environmental stimuli to which it responds

⁶³ John Nixon was a participant and has also written his memoirs – see bibliography.

or reacts'. There is a mutual interplay between surroundings and cognizance of self. The Navy differs from other social fields however, because the officer is already familiar with drill as performed when he was a rating. In this instance therefore, there is just a modification of role. This element of discipline and repetition might make the transition to officer slightly easier despite the change in roles on the parade ground, as the rhythm of drill manoeuvres is embedded in the naval psyche regardless of rank. However, despite the training many felt uncomfortable and out of place and there was a clear feeling of difference:

Officers from the lower deck looked uneasy about the numerous social etiquette issues faced in the wardroom...they were underdogs to one degree or another.
(Nicholas)

Nicholas recognised that despite the training programme there was something about promoted ratings that signalled inferiority. They lacked the corporeally embodied signals of legitimacy and the cultural capital to pass as 'real'. For some, instruction in etiquette and officerly ways was not enough; they required a deeper more personal level of guidance:

The knife and fork course is supposed to help but I wanted someone to suggest how I could do things better. (Sol)

The idea that despite training and his in-depth technical knowledge he should still be doing something 'better' or is not up to the job of being a naval officer suggests that his innate sense of self is so deeply embedded that no amount of training can overcome his perceived deficits. Habitus, 'the product of history' that Bourdieu (1977 p.83) describes as a 'system of dispositions- a past which survives in the present and perpetuates itself' is so deeply embedded that the individual cannot help but feel out of place.

Jenkins (1996 p.39) argues that the world is lived in by humans in three ways; the individual, interactive and institutional orders. The knife and fork course brings together these orders as the individual negotiates interactions with others within the institutional framework. For Jenkins the three constituents of the lived experience simultaneously 'occupy the same space, intersubjectively and physically'. The physical space – the officers' training college, provides an arena in which men have to confront ideas about who they are, and recognise that they are becoming someone else. The knife and fork course provides a space physically

and metaphorically where new officers cement together and commence the transformation into a naval officer.

Performing the Role

The new officer attends the knife and fork course that is designed to give him the attributes required of a commissioned officer in the Royal Navy. The onus is, however, on the individual to perform the role and to present himself as a credible model of the officer ideal.

Goffman (1959) notes that some roles require 'dramatic self-expression' and the naval officer is required to demonstrate a sound performance of his role. There is an obligation for an institutionalised front (ibid) where there is a clear formula and even clichéd presentation. Elements of the officer role are finely scripted by regulatory rules and guidelines for everything from dress to verbal exchanges – these could be interpreted as the 'stage directions'. Although the scripted element relieves the pressure to perform the role spontaneously it is difficult to execute all components of the role convincingly. Putt (1943 p.31) suggests in role performance it is essential to maintain some inner attachment to yourself, so while you 'perform the routine as you would any new technique...underneath the uniform, go on being yourself'. For many of my interviewees this was not easy.

i. Wearing the New Uniform

The most overt symbol of the new role is the new uniform. Officers coming from the junior rate group will have to move from Square Rig and senior rates will change their fore and aft rig reefer jacket and cap for one which carries the insignia of the commissioned officer.

The photographs on page.27 illustrate the 'classification' of men, 'visible to all in the form of...variations in uniform (Foucault 1977 p.181). If as Woodward (2007 p.85) suggests, 'objects are the material embodiment of the human labour that produced them' the new uniform with all that it signifies is a clear symbol of all that has gone before; this includes the range of examinations, the years spent on the mess decks, the networking and all other elements of the career trajectory that have contributed toward the creation of a new officer. For some, the issue of the officer's uniform created an extreme response:

I went to my cabin and I saw the uniform laid out, I felt sick, yeh sick, my head started to spin and I had pins and needles in my face. I felt like walking straight back out of the door and driving back home. I couldn't do it. I wanted to go back to the senior rates mess, I didn't want to be one of them. I thought 'what the fuck am I doing?'
(Kev)

I looked at the uniform, this thing I had worked so hard to get and I thought what the hell have I done? (Gerry)

The physical act of putting on the uniform was complex and difficult, it was something that had to be learnt:

I didn't even know which way round to put the epaulettes, or how to wear certain bits of clothing. I had never looked at an officer's dress before. I couldn't do it.
(Mark)

The transformation to officer takes place in the body (Newlands, 2013, Woodward, 2003p.51) and new officers have an immediate external signifier of transformation in their new uniform. The uniform is proof to the individual and the world that you have 'got somewhere' that you have achieved something. It defines the individual as someone important, someone who has overcome the obstacles put in their way and has achieved a new status. It is the 'object [that] refers to something other than itself...it signifies broader cultural myths...for example success, status...and dominant belief systems' (Woodward 2007 p.85). The 'uniform [is] part of the architecture of social control' (Tynan 2013p.82) and the wearer of an officer's uniform is aware that he has a superordinate role in the hierarchy of the Navy. The uniform is part of the 'formalization of the individual' (Foucault 1977 p.190) and it signifies his place in the hierarchical order.

All of a sudden I was not wearing a badge saying lower deck Geordie, I was going to be in charge. (Nicholas)

The uniform is symbolic of all that has been achieved and creates a 'real' psychic response that some were unprepared for:

I saw the uniform and I thought I was going to cry, it was all I had worked for. It made me feel very emotional. (Rob)

All but two of the respondents said they felt either anxious about wearing the uniform or in awe of it. Despite this some were very keen to wear the visual 'document' of proof of promotion (Foucault 1977 p.190).

I couldn't wait to get the uniform on, I wanted someone to salute me. (Giles)

There is the glamour of wearing gold braid, and I suppose I wanted some of that glamour. (Ray)

The uniform is used in cultural reproduction as a signifier of not just rank- it sends out a range of messages. The uniform is a 'sacred object' which has a preordained meaning (Collins 2004 p.17) and these meanings are endorsed in popular culture across various media. Representation in film⁶⁴ often utilises the naval uniform as a device to indicate hegemonic masculinity and potential to be powerful not just in the work place but in the wider range of human interaction. Tynan (2013 p.80) suggests that 'military uniform has for centuries been considered a seductive form of dress'. She notes that it 'suggest[s] bodily improvement and transformation'. More importantly Tynan emphasises that the uniform has 'sexual power' that is matched by its 'social power'. This kind of power is exemplified by the portrayal of James Bond as a Naval Commander. Bond's sexual prowess and seductive skills are combined with a masculine ideal of extreme strength, intelligence and charismatic authority that is carried in his bodily movements and bearing. Several officers discussed in interview how their performance absorbed some of the elements of the naval officer they had seen in films and documentaries as well as in real life:

You feel like you're bloody James Bond for a moment, when you look in the mirror. (Fergus)

I suppose I thought I was like Jack Hawkins, you know, tough and in control. (Will)

The mythical nature of the naval officer contributes to the role expectations and the actor's potential characterisation (Collins 2004 p.28). As Goffman suggests, performance is shaped to fit the expectations of the role and of the community within which it is performed (1959 p.44). Popular Culture contributes to the definition of the Naval Officer as can be seen in the examples overleaf.

⁶⁴ For example films such as; *The Cruel Sea*, *We Dive at Dawn* and *In Which We Serve*, all portray naval officers within the officer ideal model and the uniform is the preeminent symbol utilised in this portrayal.



Fig.23 Pierce Brosnan as Commander James Bond⁶⁵



Fig.24

Donald Sinden & Jack Hawkins in the Cruel Sea⁶⁶

⁶⁵ <http://www.imgrum.net/tag/TomorrowNeverDies>

⁶⁶ J.Arthur Rank Organisation (1953)

ii. **Saluting and Corporeal Indicators**

Once the uniform is worn it entitles the wearer to a range of deferential actions from subordinates. The most common of these, conducted within establishments and on the civilian streets where the appropriate conditions exist, is the salute⁶⁷. Jenkins (1996 p.91) suggests that ‘the body...most particularly the face, is the interactional presence of selfhood’. When naval ranked interaction takes place there is a demand for an exchange of salutes. The saluting of officers is a mandated practice; the Navy lays down the guidelines for drill, saluting and marks of respect also referred to as compliments in regulations. The regulations are substantial and prescribe for a considerable range of possible interactions with other personnel both military and civilian. Pertinent to this situation is the rule that says: (1) ...ratings are to salute all Officers...⁶⁸ (BRd 1938, Naval Ratings Handbook 1975)

All ratings – junior and senior are obliged to salute an officer on meeting. The new officer can find being on the receiving side of the salute disorientating at first:

When I was first saluted it was strange. (Bernard)

The receiving of a salute also reminded people their previous conceptions about officers:

I hated being saluted, I felt such a prat. I mean when you're on the other side you think that some of the people you salute are wankers and then you're one of them. (Rob)

It is clear from the comments above that the salute is a powerful contributory factor to a sailor's understanding of his place in the hierarchy. Receiving rather than giving the salute being a clear indicator of his move to the ‘other side’ and thus causing ontological inconsistency. These feelings of displacement lasted for varying lengths of time⁶⁹. The salute is a fundamental disciplinary signal in military life and helps to maintain hierarchical structure. It is also a ‘key mechanism... in conflict and domination’ (Collins 2004 p.41) . The salute is a signal between collaborators in military life that uphold and sustain the military ethic. These signals are a ‘pre-arranged code’ (Foucault 1997 p.166) that both the giver and receiver understand. The salute is a highly visible sign of the hierarchical position between

⁶⁷ Rules for saluting for the period researched can be seen in Appendix 5.

⁶⁸ BRd 1834. June 2015. Chapter 2, Foot Drill. Naval Personnel Management June 2016 Edition version 1. Defence Council.

⁶⁹ See chapter 8.

the two people engaged in its action, and personifies the 'body- object articulation' described by Foucault (1977 p.152). Foucault suggests that 'discipline defines each of the relations that the body must have with the object that it manipulates'. In this case the body is used to illustrate the relationship between officer and rating and the interaction between the two is a clear 'instrumental coding of the body' (p.152).

There are other corporeal signifiers that are not as explicit as the salute. Participants had a clear understanding on how they had changed, how their corporeal, bodily selves had been trained to achieve an officer persona. To enable an escape from the rating habitus (Friedman 2005) and continue the transformation, individuals have to yield to official and unofficial training:

It's in your posture. The ceremonial training puts it into you, how to stand like an officer. You change as a person the way you stand, the way you walk, everything.
(James)

You change into someone else. (Mike)

Training provides the tools to perform what Foucault (1977 p.153) calls 'obligatory syntax'-interactionary procedures that define and propagate hierarchical coherence. The officer recruits recognised the essential need to adapt to their new status:

To be fair we did change where we always said that we wouldn't. But we had to survive. On reflection those changes were not false they were necessary. (George)

Training contributes to a sub conscious compliance with new habitus expectations 'where different rules prevail' (Friedman 2005 p.318). The altered rules provide a form of secondary socialisation that begins to supersede primary naval socialisation. Friedman (p.318) suggests that social mobility creates a situation where primary dispositions are 'overlaid' and 'your first dispositions are left behind, leaving their traces only in your memory'. As the officer absorbs his new status his body becomes the site of response to his situation. Much is invested in the body (Foucault 1977 p.136/7) and it responds to 'subtle coercion'. There are changes in 'movements, gestures, attitudes...' and 'the economy, the efficiency of movement' are signs of position in relationships of power. Transformation occurs through a process of 'endless repetition of stylized movements in performance. (Woodward, 2003 p.51). This reflects Bourdieu's description of the nuances

of habitus as expressed in bodily hexis – the corporeal indicators of habitus and it how it moves and shifts over time. These articulations of rank were described by a few as having ‘presence’:

Presence is the key to it. How you stand, how you look. (Ray)

It is an all-encompassing corporeal presentation:

You are an officer in the way you walk and talk. (Mike)

Without doubt judgements were made about you in terms of bearing and posture.

(Alan)

Collins (2004 p.19) refers to ‘demeanour’ and suggests that there is ‘a reciprocity between deference and demeanour’: a certain demeanour can be a sign of deference. In this case the officer’s act or portrayal of his role is a signifier of deference to his commission. He is not only humbled by his appointment but fully aware of the weight it carries. Many officers acknowledged the duty they felt on being commissioned and felt they had a duty to present themselves as ‘looking the part’. The ‘micro-physics of power’ (Foucault 1977 p.139) are absorbed both consciously and sub consciously:

They tell you at Dartmouth, just walk with purpose and the lads will follow you... it is self-perpetuating – ‘we’re a different caste, we’re better’, you don’t realise it but they pass on their ways to you. (Mark)

All the time officers are trained in a grand old place like Dartmouth ... and you’re being told you are better than others, that you are leaders. I suppose you begin to believe it in the end. (Monty)



Fig.25 Officers carrying out drill with swords
'The sword is the emblem of military authority...it is a symbol of leadership and honour'
(Raven 1959 p.37)



Fig.26 Ratings carry out drill with rifles

The parade ground functions as an observatory in the same way that the panopticon exercises power through spatial arrangements (Smart 1985 p.88) and here is the field of the Navy materialized. It is a space of power placing the officer separately from the rating, sometimes on a plinth demarcating the line between superordinate and subordinate.

Whilst 'we...effectively rearticulate our identities and reinvent ourselves through our performativities', Leach (2005 p.301) suggests that our performance is influenced by the performances we see around us and that we absorb their practices to gain a sense of 'belonging'. This is explained rationally by the observations below:

You just had to get on with it, sort of copy the real officers. (Mike)

You need to watch, listen and learn. (James)

Any doubts that the new incumbent may not be quite right are eradicated by continued training and absorption of officer features.

iii. Impression Management & Stigma

Role performance was expected and likened to a 'game' being played. Officer's self-awareness enabled them to view the performance with cynicism and in a disparaging way:

The ward room way of life seemed false, a pretentious game for grown-ups. (Mac)

Interaction with others is always a performance and the 'arts of impression management' are what Jenkins (1996 p.93) would call the 'interactional competences which send particular identities to others and attempt to influence their reception'. Goffman (1959 p.29) acknowledges that some performers undertake their role with cynicism and go through the motions of the role for the 'good of the community'. In this case, they do so for the cohesion of rating /officer relationships. However, there can be tensions and conflicts in role performance:

Yes I most definitely did perform the role of officer. I was glad when I got home in the evening and could be myself. (Reece)

Goffman (1959 p.32/33) calls the functioning element of the performance, the constituent parts of the act that are given to others to read, 'front'. 'Front...is [all actions] employed by the individual during his performance'. Front includes the staging – physical place, scenery

and props and all 'sign equipment'. Front includes the 'insignia of office' and in the navy this is highly visible. Badges and stripes of rank on the uniform prompt a performance requiring the officer's front stage performance to include corporeally embodied signifiers that enhance the performance and give it validity; these include linguistic performance, posture and bearing, facial expressions and bodily gestures. The performance has to be realistic and compliant with the expectations of the role; most of all it has to be believable. The 'performance presents an idealized view of the situation' and that it must 'incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society' (Goffman 1959 p.44/45). Because of the totality of the military environment, officers rarely had time to operate 'backstage' and this could only happen within the home and when on leave.

Identity can be 'spoiled' – particularly within institutions such as the Navy where identity is presumed to comply with set conventions that are physically embodied. Goffman (1963a) calls the disparity between expectations and performance 'stigma'. 'Stigma is the gap between the virtual and actual' with virtual being the appearance to others in interaction, and actual being the 'real them' (Jenkins 1996 p.95). There can be a discrepancy between the two and individuals work hard at trying to maintain the virtual. For some officers stigma occurred at social occasions for which they felt inadequately equipped:

You had to do the cocktail circuit, it was expected. I found it hard as an engineer, I preferred to not socialise too much. (Charlie)

The Commander would tell you what you had to do... like going to social functions that you didn't want to go to. It was expected but I didn't like that sort of thing. (Dai)

My biggest problem regarding promotion related to formal social occasions in the ward room...including the fear of being asked to make impromptu after dinner speeches in front of senior officers. (George)

For these new officers their perceived inadequacy was most acutely felt when in spontaneous situations. They were lacking the ease with which those who have the hallmarks of legitimate culture (ease of bearing, a confident demeanour) approach the world. Stigma occurred when corporeal presentation did not match classed and ranked expectations. These discrepancies were the site of a mismatch between a desirable officer presentation and reality. This occurred when the actor was left to their own devices without 'stage direction', for example when dressing in civilian clothes. Some officers felt

that they gave the game away by not complying with the expected codes of dress and even if they had purchased what they felt was 'right' they somehow couldn't carry it off. Bourdieu (1984 p.190) is clear in this matter, arguing that 'the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste' and Woodward (2007 p.120) provides further explanation, observing that 'the body is a fundamental site for the expression of taste through clothing and hair styles, objects of adornment, speech and manner'.

Many officers recognised the finite detailing of classed and ranked expression in clothing, many suggesting that if you were 'in the know' you could spot an officer easily:

The unwritten uniform, the dress style. You can walk into a bar and spot who's a rating, who's an officer or a senior rate, it's little things like the way you wear your shirt or the shoes you have. (Liam)

Specific items of clothing were considered undesirable for officers:

Officers never wear jeans. (Finn)

It was expected that an officer would never wear jeans even when off duty. (Mike)

Jeans... the devils cloth! (Dave)

Officers wear deck shoes not trainers. (James)

Proper officers would never have worn trainers...trainers- it just wouldn't happen. (Scott)

For older officers, dress codes that contemporary personnel would find old fashioned or even intolerable, were clearly defined:

There was no such thing as working rig for officers, as an engineer we wore a reefer jacket and tie at sea. (Len, served 1964-1980)

Officers always carried gloves, shoreside, we wore suits we were never casual. (Vic, served 1952-1982)

Even when it was boiling hot officers could not wear shorts when going ashore. They had to wear 'slacks' slacks! Who the hell calls them that? (Rory)

Personal clothing was not truly a matter of choice and even if it was, officers did not want to look different. There were however strong class associations with certain items of clothing:

Oh yes there's an unofficial uniform for outside work. Officers wear pink trousers, well they call them salmon. They wear them with pastel shirts never a t shirt. People like me don't wear salmon trousers! (Dave)

*I went to Dubai with ****, he turned up at the airport with a lime green suit, a cravat and a matching hankie in his pocket, he looked like an idiot. I was embarrassed to be travelling with him. Only a really posh person would dress like that. (Tony)*

There were pucker officers... one who came up wearing a smoking jacket and a cravat... like Terry Thomas. (Dave)

There was recognition of the peculiarity of the British upper classes and the tendency for wearing clothes that made them look scruffy or bearing what Skeggs (2007 p.91) calls a 'consciously constructed non-respectable appearance':

Real officers they wear old Chelsea boots and tweed drinking coats, posh people can look a state sometimes. (Tony)

It wasn't only what was worn but how it was worn, and small nuances of presentation could give the game away:

SD officers were thought to wear their ties too short. (Tim)

Mistakes in presentation like the one above can be rectified with practice and recognition of the 'mistake'.

This is because, as Collins (2004 p.20) suggests reality is not automatic, and performances have to be rehearsed. Along similar lines, Lahire (2011p.46) argues that adaptations can be made; 'actors can adapt...without too much suffering'.

Wearing some items of clothing was seen as being 'deviant' (Jenkins 1996 p.96):

I remember the Commodore had gone to a big football game and he was on news footage that night. He was mortified. He was so worried that someone might see him, a Commodore in a football shirt. He was worried he would get back to headquarters and someone would say 'oh there's Jeremy wearing a Pompey shirt'. (Dave)

You can wear a rugby shirt in the ward room but not a football shirt, they say it's the collar rule but it's because it's football. (Bob)

Wearing a football shirt could be seen as a deviant behaviour because football as a working class sport was not seen to be a desirable interest for an officer. The agencies of social control as created and developed through years of officer habitus channelled the idea that it was not officerly to enjoy football and was thus considered to be deviation from the officer norm (Jenkins 1996 p.96). Commodore is a senior rank and his front stage persona was not seen, in his own judgment, as compatible with his back stage enjoyment of football. Although the 'dialectic of identification is... never wholly closed' and Jenkins (1996 p.85) acknowledges that 'Identities are flexible', there are areas of conduct such as a love of football, that may be considered deviant and create stigma when compared to the standards of the officer ideal.

iv. Accent & Linguistics

Of all the 'body management techniques [that are] a ... conspicuous aspect of self presentation' (Bennett et al 2009 p.153), the most discussed was language. The performance of officership had to include linguistic presentation that complied with the expected norm. The 'acquisition of role specific vocabularies' (Berger & Luckman 1966 p.158) is an essential part of role performance, and this language often has an accompanying expectation of a role accent. You have to speak in the right way if you are going to 'fit in' (Clancy 1997) or as Bourdieu (1991 p.21) suggests 'linguistic expression has to [meet] the demands of the formal markets'. Accent, dialect and vocabulary are key defining elements of corporeal embodiment. These linguistic tools are the primary ones by which we are judged (Morrison 2015). An individual's use of language is a significant indicator of where he belongs in society and as Bourdieu (1992 p.82) suggests we have a 'linguistic sense of place'. Language is not just a communicative tool it is 'a body technique... [and] phonetic competence is a dimension of bodily hexis' that informs the speaker and the outside world of who you are (p.86). Among the interviewees, accent, dialect and vocabulary compliant with the officer ideal had to be absorbed although many resisted. One site of resistance was regional accents which Morrison (2015) points out 'continue to be less socially prestigious' than Standard English.

One issue I resented was being pulled aside and informed that I would benefit from elocution lessons... as a proud Geordie I turned this opportunity down. (Nicholas)

They didn't like my Hampshire accent, they thought I sounded like a farmer and suggested that I 'polished it' but I thought they could stick that up their arse- although I didn't say that! (Lionel)

For these officers their regional accent was an integral part of their identity and it was considered an affront to suggest that it was somehow not adequate. Symbolic violence of this kind was resisted as clearly Nick and Lionel were confident of their cultural identity and didn't feel that he had to play the accent game (Bourdieu 1991 p.125). It may also be the case that they chose to keep their accents as a 'tribal trophy' (Hey 1997), a way of demonstrating independence from the classed linguistic boundaries perceived to be significant in the Navy. As Goffman (1963 p.21) suggests a break with the expected linguistic conventions aligns the speaker with his tribe. Although this form of resistance was undertaken with some pride it has to be noted that was a very marginal form of resistance and was not a real challenge to the power structure as a whole. Instead it was seen as somewhat of an eccentricity.

For their superior officers, the need for the correct accent was deemed to be essential. In what Bourdieu describes as a rite of institution (1991 p. 117), transition from one social space to another has to include a way of assimilating new unfamiliar linguistic codes. Several Officers discussed the classed linguistics of rank and their perceptions of how the speaker would react to them. The need for linguistic capital –'the legitimate competence' (Bourdieu 1991 p.55) to be linguistically fluent in the officer world, was observed by many. There were 'valued ways of communicating' in the wardroom but crucially participants recognised that officer's accents and their 'authorized language [was] also the language of authority' (Bourdieu 1991 p.55).

Real officers speak in a posh way, they just do it without thinking it makes them sound better than us, as if they are in charge and you have to do what they say. (Chris)

As Chris suggests a 'good' accent gives authority and is a sign that the possessor of such an accent is a legitimate leader and therefore able to tell others what to do. An officer accent is symbolic of the oppositional nature of the rating/officer divide, and this is indicated by Ray:

Lots of them speak really posh, but when you get to know them they're ok really.

Ray's comments suggest that there was a strong belief that a 'posh' accent would equate with hostility. A few respondents said words to this effect, indicating that they were surprised that someone with such an accent could be 'OK'. It was not only the accent used by 'real' officers but prosodic features such as tone, intonation, pitch, loudness and tempo that contributed to the reading of officer identity:

Some officers used certain voice patterns, it's hard to describe really but they you know... if they were really clever they could play tunes with their voice. (Ray).

This picturesque and vivid illustration of the nuances of linguistic capital demonstrate clearly how language is used as a form of control and as a tool of symbolic violence. This respondent was very much attuned to the use of language as a device to project officer-like qualities and he mentioned how he felt he had never had the ability to perform this part of his officer role. As an engineer Ray had academic capital but did not want to or was unable to change his own speech patterns. On reflection he suggested that he had never been a 'real' officer. It was recognised that in making the transition to officer, there are minute elements that can 'give you away' including paralinguistic features like voice quality (Trudgill 1974 p.47) that convey vocal and non-vocal signals external to the basic spoken word.

Two respondents discussed how, as young ratings, they thought that there was a clear relationship between a 'posh' accent and homosexuality. For Mark, an upper class accent was considered by his mess deck to be aligned with homosexuality:

On my first ship there was one (another rating) clearly not like the rest of us. We thought he was gay because he was posh. (Mark)

This interlinking of the relationship between accent and sexuality indicates that sailors on his mess deck, alienated by the person's 'posh accent' could only comprehend it in terms of another alien characteristic such as homosexuality. It is a manifestation of the idea that 'men- who are poorly endowed with economic and cultural capital... distinguish themselves from what they regard as weak and effeminate' (Bourdieu 1992 p.22). Whilst the 'posh' are not weak in terms of power, they lack the masculine mannerisms of the lower deck sailor. These comments reflect what Butler (1997 p.108) calls the 'specific performativity ...that transmits sexuality through speech', in this case often incorrectly read by the listener as he makes the link between 'poshness' and being gay. In addition the ratings' feelings of

weakness in relation to the linguistic market are compensated for by assertions of physical strength and manliness, they are able to emphasise their bodily capital.

Lahire (2011p.60) recognised that individuals have different speech modes and refers to the 'phenomena of heterogeneity of embodied linguistic and language habits'. He argues that we have the ability to relocate ourselves linguistically to fit in, and this is done both consciously and unconsciously:

I recall that those with a strong regional accent were required to have elocution lessons. To avoid the threat and in order to fit in I made a conscious decision to change my accent... To this day my accent remains a strange one. (Barry)

I do it consciously when I'm on the phone. I will change the way I speak I use more complex words for who I'm speaking to. (Will)

Yes I changed my accent absolutely. I can manage it, yes I manage my accent ... I can almost make it disappear...pronunciation, grammar, speed – so that they could understand me. And the complexity of my language, I changed that over the years, but sometimes I have to stop and think of the right word not just use the normal words. (Tony)

The above officers not only consciously changed their accents but the composition of their spoken language too, acknowledging that at times they slowed down to ensure they located the 'right' word to maintain status. This method of 'information control' (Goffman, 1963a) is, however, problematic. By breaking the flow of their language they may expose a lack of 'confidence and fluency' of the kind possessed by those whose linguistic habitus is from a superior social group (Bourdieu 1992 p.21). Bourdieu (1977a) suggests that there may be 'permanent linguistic insecurity' for the parvenu who is alert to the fear that they may make some minor transgression from the expected norm, having to 'mind one's p's and q's' and ever mindful that there is value in 'linguistic correctness'. Some officers absorbed new ways of speaking unconsciously:

It changes you know. It changes- your accent. You're not trying to do it but it happens and you slowly become one of them. (Rory)

My Mum noticed it when I went home. She said why are speaking like that? She thought I was trying to be posh but I hadn't realised that it had changed, I wasn't doing it deliberately. (Eric)

The 'language habitus' (Bourdieu 1991) is the most overt expression of embodied attributes that position us in the social arena and is one that is susceptible to change over time. For those who did not absorb new linguistic practices it was a source of concern. For Les it was clearly stated that his mode of speech was not good enough:

I could have achieved the Queen's Sword (a prize for best cadet) but was told my grammar was quaint. (Les)

And for Nicholas it was a cause for reflection:

I shall never know if my northern accent held me back... I never did meet another officer with the same accent as me. (Nicholas)

Pukka officers say you serve 'in' a ship, everyone else says I served 'on' a ship, this is what catches you out. (Bob)

These speakers felt that they may not have had the linguistic capital to fulfil their potential and suggests that the social space that they gravitated to was at odds with their innate habitus. Janowitz (1964 P.145) notes however, that it is good for officers to show some degree of individuality and regional accent is a way in which this can be done. However he accepts there are 'confines of narrow and acceptable limits' and he recognised that 'excessive individuality would injure one's reputation'. That Les was openly told that his syntax was not up to the standard required illustrates the huge jump in embodied presentation required for ratings promoted to officer.

Accent and dialect were matched by nomenclature as areas of difference that had to be addressed. For Goffman (1963a p.59) 'social information is conveyed by any particular symbol' and in this case the symbol was name:

Oh real officers they have names like Nigel and Jeremy, they're never called Dave like me. (Dave)

Specific names that were aligned with a middle or upper class background that brought out classed/rank differences were matched by the way in which the individual used his name:

When I joined the ward room they asked my name and I said Gerry. 'Oh no it's Gerald now you're with us', no one had ever called me Gerald. (Gerry)

One officer admitted that he had overdone his role performance with regard to name:

I joined a ship and they asked 'what's your new nickname and I said Sir. What a wanker. I actually said that. I am embarrassed to think about it now. (Stan)

This is similar to what Labov (2006) describes as hypercorrection and illustrates how we may make 'embarrassingly rash utterances prompted by artificial confidence' (Bourdieu 1992 p.83). This 'incorrectness' is a result of insecurity which can cause such an outburst and is not surprising in a newly appointed officer joining his first ship. It is the sign of the parvenu who has 'keen sensitivity to the tension of the market' (ibid) and is keen to imitate legitimate culture.

It was not only individuals' names that categorised men but collective terms. This is because as Durkheim (Traugott 1994p.81) argues, 'language is often used as a means of establishing the relatedness of peoples':

There were blokes, chaps and fellows. As an ex rating I was a bloke. Chaps were those who had either grammar school or university education. The fellows were ex public school. Chaps and fellows were fine but blokes in the ward room well what the world was coming to! (Harrison)

Men who referred to 'lunch instead of dinner for the midday meal' soon got used to it as they were absorbed into the officer world.

I thought it was nonsense but then heard myself telling my kids the same thing years later. (Dave)

The linguistic evolution of rating into officer is what Durkheim describes as an 'organic condition' that is the 'product of a group and bears its stamp' (Traugott 1994p.81). To some extent this shows the malleable nature of the habitus over time and yet also bears witness to the pains and anxieties associated with transition.

Lahire (2011p.169) notes that 'language is often ...embedded in the course of action' and it cannot be 'extricated from gestures, motions, movements'. In the Navy world language use is often mandated in protocol for manoeuvres such as the helming of a ship. Such language is ranked as the officer of the watch and the helmsman participate in a coded form of verbal exchange. A new officer has to learn the script of the other side and ensure that his role performance captures all corporeal techniques required to play the part. For Woodward (2002 p.74) language is one of the 'symbols and images deployed' by people to 'mark themselves out' and for the members operating within the Naval field both everyday

use of language and the mandated procedural verbal exchanges in the work place are among the primary 'representational systems [through which] we make sense of both ourselves and of others'.

Summary

The officers embarked on a training course designed to give them secondary socialisation into the officer corps. The content was to give them leadership skills and it was hoped that the acquisition of a range of cultural and social attributes would align the newly promoted with the expectations associated of the naval officer role. My findings indicate this was a transformatory process.

Officership was recognised as a performance that commenced with the wearing of the new uniform which was symbolic of power and status. There was conscious and unconscious absorption of the officer demeanour. The maintenance of character was difficult, giving way to small indicators of the 'real' person, and occasional diversions from the officer expectation were seen as deviant. The most significant indicators of the true self was considered to be accent and linguistic usage. These were sometimes not possible or desirable to adjust or transform.

Chapter.8 The Officer World - Part 2

The Material World

Training Establishments

Participants had a very strong awareness of the difference between the mess deck and the wardroom and recognised there was a 'spatial ordering of men' (Foucault 1977 p.148) on ships and in shore establishments. The subdivision of space is a disciplinary measure to uphold hierarchical systems. Goffman (1959 p.74) recognised the need to separate a rating corps from the officers in a military force. He maintained there is a 'necessity of ... [separating] superior from inferior' as this establishes 'an unscrutinised ascendancy in the former'. The physical separation of the two groups contributes towards the construct of the 'other'. The dissimilar nature of the mess deck and wardroom is defined spatially and materially and shapes the way life is lived in these heterotopic spaces. Foucault (1984) suggests that the 'ship is the heterotopia par excellence' and what the Navy calls 'stone frigates' (a naval establishment on the land), are compliant with the criteria he sets out for heterotopia – a space which is both 'mythic and real' (Foucault 1984 p. 4), a space which exists yet is 'outside of all places'. The ship or the military establishment exists but is a site outside of civilian life.

In the Navy space is used to separate and demarcate. The marking out of officers' space from ratings' allows both groups to live their lives; they eat, sleep and pursue their leisure interests in private shared spaces where the encumbrance of ranked conduct can be forgotten. These spaces within ships and submarines mirror those in shore establishments. The most overt manifestation of ranked space is the training establishment whose design and layout ensures it has a very 'precise and determined function' (Foucault 1984). Training establishments define the expectations and reproduce the rating or officer habitus. Many of the research participants started their Navy careers at HMS Raleigh Junior rates training establishment. Raleigh is a collection of simple style accommodation, classrooms and facilities where new entries lived in dormitories of up to forty men during the period studied⁷⁰. The considerable difference for new officers commencing their training can be

⁷⁰ Other training establishments were represented such as HMS St Vincent and HMS Ganges, all had large dormitory style accommodation and canteen style eating halls.

seen in the photograph of Britannia Royal Naval College. On arrival at Dartmouth my interviewees were confronted with a majestic building that for some was overwhelming:

Dartmouth is imposing, I mean really imposing, it is intimidating for people like me.
(Mike)



Fig.27 HMS Raleigh – Training Establishment for Junior Rates ⁷¹



Fig.28 Britannia Royal Naval College – Dartmouth

Dartmouth was terrifying, people like me we don't belong. (Steve)

⁷¹ Both photographs are from www.royalnavy.mod.uk

The training establishments represent ranked expectations and are indicative of the lifestyles led within (Bourdieu 1984). They 'juxtapose several spaces' that may be incompatible (Foucault 1984) where they become 'home' to new sailors yet also represent a place of subjugation and transformation. The rules of heterotopia emphasise the link with time, when men make an 'absolute break with their traditional time' (Foucault 1984 p.6) and live in a temporal regime that Foucault describes as heterochronic. An old way of life is lost as another takes over within a time frame faster than would naturally evolve; at rating training, the civilian becomes a military man within a few weeks and promoted ratings are turned into 'gentlemen' at Dartmouth within the space of a few months. Unlike the heterotopia however, the training college does not provide a space 'where every man can speak with impunity' (Goffman 1959. 194). The rating establishment in particular emphasises the expected complete subordination to the officer corps and the opportunity for the rating to say what he wishes to superordinates does not exist.

The rating training academy is where the rating habitus begins to be absorbed and men are prepared for life at sea and potentially for combat. Recruits submit to a range of disciplinary and procedural instruction that utilises the body as the site of conversion (Tynan 2015, Woodward 2003). Men are dispossessed of their civilian identities (Hockey 1986) and through a range of corporeal exercises such as; drills, marching, saluting, physical exercise and even getting their haircut, they become Royal Navy sailors. Bodily training is matched by instruction in job-related skills such as seamanship. In addition to this an introduction to the signs and signals of navy habitus; naval history and traditions, naval language and cultural symbols such as the Navy's flag, the White Ensign, are introduced to the trainee. The rating training establishment attempts to prepare the recruit for the rigours of working at sea which can be dangerous and demanding and claustrophobic. Individuals needed to be strong and resilient, and many research participants discussed the almost brutal nature of rating training as the person is broken down to be rebuilt (Hockey, 1986, Foucault 1977). It was physically and mentally demanding particularly for those who had attended HMS St Vincent and Ganges where the training was very tough.

Rating Life

Putt (1943 p.18) describes the confines of the mess deck vividly in his memoir: 'Three months lived in a tiny area with a density of population unrivalled anywhere in the world'. It is a 'forest of... human bodies'. Mess deck culture is defined by a working class operating field that is situated within a setting of young male bonding. A junior rates mess was home to large groups of young men and could create an atmosphere of the school playground:

On my first ship the mess was called the zoo. There were fifty five lads with only two leading hands, no one was in charge it was mad. Fifty five young blokes away from home it was mad. (Mark)

Mark's experience occurred in 1988. He then went on to say:

My mate who's a divisional officer at Raleigh, he says honestly it's like being on the Jeremy Kyle show.

This comment about the Junior Rate training establishment was made in 2015 (the time of interview) and drew comparisons with a television programme widely thought to demonstrate the vulgarity, impropriety and offensive nature of the working and underclass. It also indicates the ways in which habitus are reproduced over time, how generation after generation absorb the culture, behaviours and practices of rating life. The perceived deviant nature of the men on the mess decks in the Georgian Navy are well documented (Kemp 1970, Wragg 2009, Pryor 2012) and it is has a culture that continued to attract men who may have been considered to be on the margins of society:

It was pretty daunting Raleigh, I had never met tattooed skinheads from Manchester before. I thought I was pretty hard coming from London, but I realised that I was just a wuss in comparison to that lot. (Mark)

There was a strong drinking culture among the ratings. (John)

As a space that is set apart from officers, the mess deck allows down time from the need to perform a subordinate role. Although Foucault (1975 p.171) argues that military space is organised to enable surveillance of subordinates and suggests that power is 'exercised... through observation', the mess deck provides an escape from such observation. Sailors are hidden from superordinates when on their mess decks and conduct their lives in a rating habitus that has been embedded over many generations.



Fig.29 'The mess deck is the sailor's home and he would not welcome too many visitors.'
Putt (1943 p.54)⁷²

Yet the mess deck itself was a platform for strictly hierarchical behaviour within the ratings cohort:

In the mess there was 'badge man's corner' ... four to five seats for watching the telly, you could only sit in them if you had four to five years' service and had a badge, no one else could sit in them. (Mark)

You had to hold your own, there was a pecking order. You had to be able to banter to josh with the lads and I suppose be a bit of a bully to those who were not as in as you. (Gerry)

Goffman (1959 p.37) suggests that 'clan segmentation' becomes essential when a community becomes large. The kinship that members of the Navy feel towards each other is similar to a family and the size of the organisation means that segmentation is not only necessary to create an organised fighting force, but a natural occurrence as individuals

⁷²Photograph by Kind Permission of (retired) CPO Alan 'Willie' Thornewill

need a system of identification. The comments above show how there is not only a rating /officer divide but the rating corps sub divides into groups. The junior rates mess has a graded and categorised character that ensures that even within a subordinate group there are finely delineated subdivisions.



Fig.30 'Badge Mans Corner' - a hierarchical space within a subordinate group⁷³

In Naval 'spatial schemata' (Tuan 1977 p.37) there is complete demarcation between officers' and ratings' accommodation, and a distinct segregation between the two groups consolidated the oppositional nature of their relationship between each other:

At Collingwood everything was segregated. (Charlie)

As a junior rate, officers were in aloof positions of power, you never really got to speak to them, and we were separate from them all the time. (Liam)

⁷³ Photograph by Kind Permission of Lt M.Lockett RN (Retired)

Dartmouth

On commencing officer training at Dartmouth the magisterial nature of the buildings and their contents were daunting for many, having the heterotopic quality of being an environment which is both 'open yet closed' (Foucault 1970). Whilst promoted men have gained access to Dartmouth they felt closed off by its intimidating atmosphere. It was not just intimidating for people coming up from the lower deck, the atmosphere was daunting for direct entry officers too:

At Dartmouth they show you stuff that belonged to Nelson... some of the new people straight from uni' they got off the coach looked around and got back on again. It was too overwhelming, it's overwhelming. (Mark)

The physical size and imposing appearance of Dartmouth, likened by many to 'a stately home' fulfils what Foucault (1977 p.148) calls a 'complex space' that is 'architectural, functional and hierarchical.' These spaces help to establish 'operational links' [that]...indicate values'. A grand building such as Dartmouth, through the structure of symbolic domination, legitimises the symbolic order in the Navy field (Dovey 2005 p.288).

The imposing nature of Dartmouth stimulates an ontological response: innate dispositions are confronted and the new officer is aware that a considerable cultural transformation is expected.

Culturally it is a big step up- moving to the ward room. (Captain Paul Quinn)

Captain Quinn's comment recognises the dilemma newly promoted officers faced as they negotiated their new naval position. The toughness of the mess decks has to be replaced by a gentlemanly performance that recognises the 'elaborate rules of etiquette and ceremony [that] govern personal relations'. As Janowitz (1964 p.196) observes 'no other occupation... is so concerned with courtesy and protocol' as the military.

Goffman (1959 p.117) recognised that a reason for spatial differentiation is to 'keep the audience away from the back region [of the stage]'. This gives the actor the right to keep the audience (in this case the ratings) from seeing what goes on behind the closed doors of the ward room. Spatial segregation allows officers to gain a sense of mystery, and the myth of the officer ideal can be upheld even if behind closed doors there is another officer persona. Putt (1943 p.36) recognised that 'relations between ward room and mess deck

were good. But it was painful to see how the assumptions of caste [were] preserved...the characters of our officers were daily analysed with penetrating acumen'. This scrutiny brought to light perceived unfairness such as the response to misdemeanours:

It can be very unfair. If a senior rate gets drunk and pisses himself he gets into trouble. If an officer does that you wouldn't hear anything about it. It was just 'high jinks'. (Dave)

An officer got absolutely slaughtered and pissed himself then collapsed in the anteroom- he got put to bed and it was never mentioned again. If that had been a rating he would have been up for a bollocking and extra duties. It wasn't fair. (Rob)

Behaviours such as the ones mentioned above are kept out of view to uphold the mystique of the officer corp. Front stage performance suggests an officer would never get into these sorts of situations and demarcation of social space permits role discrepancies to be hidden behind stage. In their duties, some officers will go to inspect the ratings messes but there is no reciprocal mechanism for ratings to view officers 'backstage' area and thus officers are more closely guarded.

As Foucault (1977 p.148) notes discipline is maintained when 'spaces... provide fixed positions ... they carve out individual segments and establish operational links...they guarantee the obedience of individuals'. However the demarcation of accommodation also exemplifies the classed division between the two groups, even simple diurnal activities such as going to the toilet or walking up the stairs was segregated by rank:

There was a definite...feeling how officers thought about ratings, private stairways and officers' heads (toilets), you're obviously not capable of weeing properly, I mean separate loos! (Dave)

Newlands (2013) reflects that in military life 'the body was controlled within both time and space. Where he could go, when he could go [are] and how he could go are all subject to strict regulation'. The separate spaces are 'mythical' (Tuan 1977 p.86) where people carry out diurnal activity complicit with the values created within their spatial boundaries, and the body responds to environmental stimuli (Mead 1934 p.173). The initial response to the new environment and expectations at Dartmouth is profound but once anxieties begin to recede the newly promoted man starts to absorb officer traits. For some the environment was a driving force:

I was determined to prove I was as good as or better than the Dartmouth entry officers. (Vic)

The hierarchy within the rating corps was mirrored by the ward room, and what Gary described as 'the pecking order' existed in the ward room too. Officers maintained ranked behaviour even in social situations, as Rory noted:

Officers called each other Sir, you know even if they were friends they stuck to the rules. If we went ashore the only difference we made was to call him 'boss' that was being casual! (Rory)

Yeah officers within a group always follow the rank thing, even in the bar. (Trevor)

Conversation was often engineered to grade ward room companions: 'in the wardroom [people] were inclined to ask personal questions ...to establish the social hierarchy among those at the dinner table'. (Nixon 2013 P.183). The omnipotence of the most senior officer was never in doubt:

In the wardroom the Commander is the total authority. (Duncan)

Classed views of the 'other'

My interviewees reported that hostility to difference was expressed verbally and physically. Bennet et al (2009p.211) suggest 'there is concealed hostility toward the refined or the 'posh' ' and on the mess decks there was no hiding the dislike of anyone who was different in anyway. For example, Tony observed that HMS Raleigh was:

Lower class generally... the only posh person was bullied. He was slightly overweight and well spoken ... he should have joined as an officer... people threw stuff at him. It was a class-based form of bullying. Although he was very clever he had no common sense he was a victim really. (Tony)

The notion that 'posh' people had no common sense was a common theme as described by Mike:

There was one posher bloke [at Raleigh], but to be honest he just seemed like an idiot. We gave him a hard time to be honest. (Mike)

Inept 'posh' people, rare on the mess deck, became colleagues on becoming an officer. Men had to overcome their prejudices and not only work alongside the 'posh' but be

absorbed into their world. Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.25) described the feelings of their working class research participants of having a sense of 'revulsion' towards those who were educated and were not dignified enough to be undertaking manual labour. In the case of my research, participants saw them as 'idiots':

Graduate officers may be very bright and speak well but they have no common sense.
(James)

Some officers were just idiots you wonder how the hell they can be in charge. (Gary)

I hope it doesn't come out that all direct officers are tossers, some of the people I've respected most are direct entry officers but there are a lot of arseholes. (Mark)

There are what Tajfel (1981 p.146) calls 'cognitive aspects of prejudice...the individual and social functions of stereotyping'. Stereotyping allows us to recognise others and at the same time it provides security as we experience a world different from our own location. Jenkins (1996 p.113) explains that 'groups distinguish themselves from, and discriminate against, other groups in order to promote their own positive social evaluation and collective self-esteem' and for Allport (1954 p.20) categorization is not only unavoidable but 'orderly living depends on it'. There was a very strong perception of 'real' or direct entry officers as a stereotyped 'other' from a higher social stratum. Nearly all interviewees discussed the differences in social class and background of officers:

I was fully aware of being from another social stratum in comparison to direct entry officers. (Tim)

They walk among us... people would say 'how did he get in the Navy?' and it was because he'd been to a good school and had a degree. (Dave)

Most of the Dartmouth boys were from prep school they were a different class of person, they had everything going for them. There was a difference. (Bernard)

There are Winchester types and Oxbridge types and 7th Earl types. (Paul)

What the 'posh' officers lacked in ability they were perceived to hide with a confident air that overrode their innate abilities:

I remember thinking how incredibly confident a lot of the public school educated cadets were. They were eighteen, but much more confident than me who was twenty four and had served some time already. (Nicholas)

I soon recognised that confidence was not the indicator of ability. (Chris)

They had amazing self-confidence – it was misplaced though. (Tony)

Even if you were posh you still had to have people skills which a lot of them didn't. (Mark)

The officers were perceived to be masters of bluffing. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 89) wrote, 'the accomplished socialite...sidesteps difficulties [by] turning questions of knowledge into questions of preference, ignorance into disdainful refusal', the superior have strategies for hiding their incompetence.

There was a clear recognition of the cultural and social capital that direct entry officers had. Direct entry officers had varied skill levels but more essentially had embodied dispositions that were intangible. The promoted officers knew that cultural capital was a 'systematic form of inequality' (Bennett et al 2009 p.11) (even if they did not use the sociological terminology) that gave others the edge and found it hard not only to quantify but to accept. Officers knew that their own deficits in this commodity held them back or made them feel inadequate in some way.

Bennet et al (2009 p.12) suggest that 'each cultural field... [has] its own autonomy, and can only be understood in terms of the relationships that are internal to it'. With this in mind, the 'real' officer field can only be understood by those in the group. Outsiders, in this case promoted ratings, are not in a position to understand it fully and it is impossible therefore for them to feel fully at home within the group. Despite this however, the two sub-fields, the mess deck and the ward room 'have a function in relation to all of the space that remains' (Foucault 1984), in this case the Navy field in its entirety. The two spaces may not always understand each other but their functions are symbiotic and mutually dependent on each other in order for power to operate effectively.

Notwithstanding the above, sometimes the realities of naval life can erase differences. Despite these ranked spaces at times discomfort is shared as Putt (1943 p.37) reflects 'no naval officer can avoid, even if he so desire, sharing most of the dangers and discomforts of his men, and that makes the difference.' The precarious nature of life at sea means that

all are equally exposed to the hazards. Shared discomfort such as sea sickness, storms and fear bring unity to the ship's crew and allow a mutual understanding of each group. In this aspect of sea-faring life hierarchies are disrupted and cooperation and mutuality are strong.

Material Culture

Many discussed how they saw rating/ officer difference through material and social culture. For the men in this study this did not just consist of physical items but a range of classed aspects of living that included material goods such as cars and furnishings, food and- for some- the utilisation of stewards and servants. It was found that the effort to perfect a middle class performance often gave away the 'real' person as the newly promoted were exposed to material goods as well as the language and behaviours of the officer class. The consequence of this was to expose their lack of understanding and ability to engage with legitimate forms of consumption and conduct.

Goffman (1959 p.32/33) discusses the needs for stage props in every scene setting that allows the 'human action [to be] played out'. Goffman stresses that the setting is usually a physical place and officer accommodation and spaces allow the appropriate performance to be conducted in the correct way (although the officer takes his performance with him wherever he is within the work environment and often in his civilian life too). Many aspects of material consumption and use were laid down and regulated by the navy. The nuanced grading of ranked accommodation was described vividly by several people along with the 'ludicrous' ranked nature of facilities available to families:

WREN ratings who had to stay in an officer accommodation as there was none available in rating quarters. The Navy housing people came down and honestly... you won't believe it but it is true... they cut the carpet down as only officers were entitled to fitted carpet. When the WRNS moved out they had to put a new fitted one in as an officer was moving in. (Tim)

All officers had to have a hand basin in each bedroom, so when someone needed to rent a house, as no navy house was available, they found it almost impossible to rent a 'suitable' house. (Jean - Tim's wife)

In these two cases the ranked experience of fitted carpet and a bedroom sink was laid down by regulation and reinforced the ranked material boundaries (albeit thought ridiculous by

some). For other unregulated items such as personal belongings or civilian clothes the material culture of the officer class was found to be difficult to grade and assess. Whilst etiquette was taught on the knife and fork course, 'real' class and taste could not be imparted in any official way. Indicators of the expectations of officership were numerous and transgressed a range of material and physical goods and attributes, many intangible (Kuhn 1995, Meades 2014). In the case of the new officer it intruded into every element of human existence: 'Symbolic domination ...is something you absorb like air, something you don't feel pressured by: it is everywhere and nowhere, and to escape from that is very difficult' (Grenfell 2012 p.192).

The many indicators that point to 'real' officership were not what they seemed, and for example, cars were a particularly difficult items to 'get right' (Kuhn 1995, Skeggs 1997, Meades 2014, Fox 2004):

The posher the officer, the more crap his car would be. (Paul)

The best cars were always in the Chiefs car park not the officers. (Mike)

Steve (below) learnt quickly how important it was to assimilate in order to 'survive [the] work environment' (Reinfelder 1997), going as far as changing his car quickly when he realised his faux pas:

When I got promoted I bought a brand new car to fit in with what I thought officers would drive. I pulled into the ward room car park and thought 'what have I done?' my car stuck out like sore thumb it was bright red and shiny and in the space marked for the CO (Commanding Officer) was the biggest pile of tin I had seen, it could hardly have been road worthy. I felt like an idiot and sold that car quickly, buying a second hand one that looked older and more like an officer's car. (Steve)

Ownership of a new car and particularly a standard run of the mill model did not comply with ideas on taste in the wardroom and the number of officers who discussed this indicates that it was one of the more overt indicators of 'real' class. The inverse nature of car value and rank was something that needed to be recognised to uphold officer authenticity. The upper and upper middle classes have ways of displaying their class superiority by showing they have little regard for vulgar overt displays of wealth (Skeggs 2004, Fox 2004) and cars provide considerable evidence for this. Not only the make and

model of the car but the lack of cleaning and maintenance was observed to be more officer like:

Officers had old vans or an obscure old sports car, they would never have a new car or a clean car, that's the way of posh people. (Gary)

This may not necessarily be the 'consciously constructed non-respectable appearance of the middle classes' that Skeggs (1997) describes but is a sign that car washing is of such little importance that only the parvenu desperate to impress, could be bothered with such time wasting. Furthermore, as Fox (2004p.262) notes, a 'dirty neglected car...[is]characteristic of uppers and upper middles'. The car itself regardless of its performance capability indicates by make and condition the owners status, and as Baudrillard (1996 p.150) suggests the functionality of an object 'absorbs' status differences and that there is a 'psycho-sociological dynamic' that is the secondary function of the object. Woodward (2007 p.70) makes the point that 'toys encode various ideologies of the modern adult world'.

Woodward (2007 p.96) recognises the things we buy indicate meaning – there are 'codes, messages and symbols circulate[d] through commodities'. He suggests that 'consumer objects assist people in demarcating social categories', and for Bennet et al (2009 p.11) prestigious objects are recognised by an 'distinct aesthetic disposition' which relates to cultural capital. Smaller items were perceived to show officer-like propriety and many men recognised that props were needed for role performance:

With ratings, you have like a biro never a real pen, when I got promoted the wife got me a proper pen to fit in. (Neil)

Yes you need props to support your act. For instance if I was going to a meeting with officers I would take a moleskin notebook I would never take that to a ratings meeting they would think it was weird. (Tony)

This comment shows that Tony thought he had cultural capital with regard to something as small as a notebook but the multi layered dimensions of cultural sensitivity were laid open by another participant who suggested that Tony 'tried too hard' and it was obvious he bought stationery to 'show off':

Real officers would have a scruffy notebook. (Kit)

The suggestion was that he understood the officer ways more than Tony; that Kit had more cultural capital than Tony or as Lawler (2008b) suggests, to work at acquiring 'classiness' 'is immediately to show that one lacks classiness'. It was clear that many men recognised that 'objects assist... credible effective performance' (Woodward 2007). Many aspects of material and social culture were imposed by the Navy itself when regulations were in practice that dictated the correct officer/rating goods for a range of diurnal activity. Even toiletry items were ranked:

Ratings toilet paper was different from officers for a while, we had the crunchy stuff and they had toilet paper on rolls, but it all had Government Property stamped on it which I thought was funny. (Will)

Eating and Drinking

Of social activities where rules and regulations were applied, food and eating were discussed by nearly all interviewees. Whilst Bennett et al (2009 p.165) suggest that you have to have 'social and cultural competence' to enjoy eating out, eating together in the armed services is part of daily life. However it is not just proficiency in table etiquette that is necessary but knowledge that some food items are not deemed suitable in the ward room. Food provided by the Navy was eaten in ranked dining spaces but the food distributed was itself differentiated. Fox (2004 p.305) suggests that 'almost every item of English food comes with an invisible class label', and Bourdieu (1984) recognised that food was very much related to our 'relationship to the world'. This was observed by my interviewees with comments such as:

Officers don't eat baked beans. (Ray)

If you wanted beans on toast you had to go to the senior rates pantry. (Dai)

Officers cut their burger in half... well if they eat burgers. (Mitch)

Brown sauce is called SD sauce, real officers wouldn't have brown sauce. (Reece)

One participant described how the ship he was on nearly had a mutiny when crew were given

awful, appalling muck day after day... the final straw was when we found out that the wardroom were getting chocolate galleons for a mess dinner...we went ballistic and the Chief had to go to the XO and say enough is enough. (Monty)

This comment reflects the idea that for the dominated classes food has a purely practical role of providing enough nutrition to function or as Bourdieu (1984 p.197) would say 'substance takes priority over form', whilst for higher social groups food has a role, almost like a piece of art, to be enjoyed at leisure, with 'priority given to form' (Bourdieu 1984, Stewart 2013). Fischler (1988) maintains that 'food is central to our sense of identity', and for Martin the linking of a specific food with the place in which its eaten provided a deep sense of imposter syndrome and a suggestion that he was unworthy of the location of the meal:

Eating a kipper in the painted hall at Greenwich gives you time to think. It's so overwhelming the beauty of it and you think 'what am I doing here?' (Jack)

Drinks were also ranked:

Drinking. A big difference. In the ward room the gin pennant would go up and everyone would have a couple of gins before dinner. But the senior rates mess well you had beer and you just kept going. (Dave)

When we had a bevvie we went mad chucking beer down, but the officers they had gin and tonic. (Mac)

If an officer did have a beer ashore it would be some real ale from a real ale pub. (Jeff)

It can be seen that there were clear ranked distinctions between ratings and officers that align themselves with class in regard to the consumption of drink.

Food and drink instigated considerable discussion regarding the specific items and the space where they were consumed, but some interviewees expressed considerable anger and discomfort when discussing how they were provided. Traditionally food is served to an officer by stewards whilst ratings queue for food in a canteen style mess lacking the 'symbolic etiquette' (Bourdieu 1984 p.197) of the wardroom that has upper-middle class food practices rooted in close attention to form and aesthetic appreciation.

The amount of time it took to get through a meal... it was enormous... I was more used to being in a short queue with my colleagues as a rating, choosing my meal from a counter...

[In the wardroom] dressing for dinner, 'passing the port', using decanters correctly, toasts to the Queen and giving after dinner speeches, all required insider knowledge and training and created considerable tension for some. (Nixon 2013p.185)

Stewards

For several participants becoming accustomed to having 'servants' went against their internalised subjective selves.

I felt sorry for the stewards I knew how some officers treated them, I had worked in the bar at Collingwood and knew what it was like to serve rather than be served. (Dave)

For Mark additional awkwardness was introduced when the idea of being served, already repugnant, was compounded by having stewards from a different ethnic background:

There were twelve officers being served by six Afro Caribbean stewards. It was awful I felt like I had gone back in time. I hated it, it made me feel very awkward. (Mark served from 1987 -2012)

He continued by describing how he overcompensated in his feelings of unease:

I made a point of being extra grateful to them (black stewards) and in a way it made it worse 'cos I was bringing out their blackness to everyone else. I wouldn't have tried so hard with a white steward.

There was clearly considerable discomfort being served by black stewards and the intersection of ethnicity, class and rank caused obvious ontological anxiety. For Mark who came from South London and had grown up in a very ethnically diverse area, his natural habitus was one in which black people were friends and equals and the idea that black stewards serving (what are assumed to be) all or predominantly white officers created a significant divide between habitus and the new habitat. A divided self or habitus clivé exists when ontological coherence is muddled by movement through different social arenas and where a person may feel 'out of place in their new universe' (Bourdieu 1996 p.184). Mark shows clearly the separation between his innate sense of equality and the new expectations of him as an officer to sit back and allow others to serve.

Stewards not only served food but were paid by the Navy to undertake a range of other tasks such as cleaning officers' cabins, the ironing and laying out of uniform and even

polishing shoes. Some officers found it difficult to accept this domestic service and made a point of stressing how they dealt with the situation by being friendly or assisting stewards by undertaking the tasks themselves:

I threw my own rubbish away, it's only common decency, some officers they just think someone will clear up after them. (Tony)

I cleaned my own cabin and my shoes... it would have been weird to let someone do that for me. (Gary)

I would never put my shoes out, because I think that really isn't fair, whereas a pucker officer thinks it is normal for someone to clean his shoes for him. (Dave)

The above comments all indicate a reluctance to go against their inherent feelings of self-sufficiency and that having servants was not normal or 'decent' and was 'weird'. An internal division between innate self and the situation was managed by open demonstration of alliance:

The stewards bought me breakfast to my cabin because I was good to them. (Tony)

The comments of those above show how they try to compensate for their awkwardness and embarrassment by breaking the norms with regard to servants- that is by exceeding the normal interactive limits and undertaking their own cleaning and care of clothes. As Stewart (2013p.85) comments 'parvenus...harbour the tendency to 'do it themselves', if they do not feel that receiving service is a legitimate entitlement they might respond by retreating into the comfort of their known world. In the same way that Skeggs (1997) discusses how working class women present themselves to distance themselves from their counterparts, these men do the same thing with displays of manners and excessive courtesy. The effort put into politeness is a distancing mechanism that separates them from the perceived arrogance and aloofness of the 'real' or 'pucker' officers. By doing this the promoted ratings use their empathy and manners as a form of cultural capital. Not accepting the employment of stewards in tasks such as shoe cleaning, ironing and rubbish clearance is a self-regulatory practice that signifies they have an ethical code of independence and fairness. Perhaps more importantly it is a way of maintaining control.

Branch and Specialisation

All members of the Royal Navy serve within one of the four main Service Arms. Each Service Arm has its own insignia as detailed below. These Service Arms are distinct operational fields which have their own ethos and identity. Fig.31⁷⁴



GENERAL SERVICE (SURFACE FLEET)⁷⁵



SUBMARINE SERVICE



FLEET AIR ARM



ROYAL MARINES⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Insignia are representative and are not worn except by submariners. Only Pilots and Aircrew of the Fleet Air Arm wear the 'Wings', Pilots wear full wings and aircrew single wings.

⁷⁵ During the period studied the Service Fleet was known as General Service. The insignia was not utilised until later.

⁷⁶ Note: The Royal Marines, whilst a full Service Arm, is an Amphibious Commando Corps and has its own separate regulations and service ethos. The Royal Marine Corps merits specific investigation at a later date. N.B Figures taken from: <http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/welfare/find-help/sports-facilities/sports-facilities/raleigh>

Within these Service Arms men serve in their Branch and Specialisation and wear badges of competence. For example a Mine Clearance Diver will be in the Warfare branch and will wear the insignia of his branch.



Fig.32



Fig.33



Fig.34

Fig.35⁷⁷

In the Navy men work in highly sophisticated technological zones such as warships, submarines, aircraft and subspaces within them such as weapons loading bays and intelligence centres. These spaces and the subspaces within them are arenas that create different work-related habitus where men absorb branch and specialist related expectations and behaviours. There is a huge range of jobs in the Navy and the individuals in this research worked in a diverse range of occupations from Nursing to Nuclear Engineering. Group solidarity in specialisations is created by shared aims, intellectual approaches and work methods. Branch and Specialisation manifest themselves visibly in the badges worn by ratings and the distinct operational field of the different competencies. These differences can have considerable influence in the ratings' response to promotion. The Navy had a need to promote highly competent men to ranks that matched their expertise in specialist areas:

The RN will always have a core of specialists commissioning from the ranks because of the expertise and experience you bring to your field. (Vincent)

⁷⁷ Fig.32. Mine Clearance Diver – Warfare Branch

Fig.33. Seaman – Warfare Branch

Fig.34. Air Engineer – Engineer Branch

Fig.35. Weapons Engineer-Engineer Branch

The necessity for this is illustrated by the comments below:

The Navy did not have any officers competent in my world (Submarine computer systems) I had to advise the Captain. It was weird. So they promoted me, my rank caught up with my expertise... I went on the officers submarine course and ended up as the instructor for about half of it ... I was European nuclear liaison officer, I travelled the world advising commanding officers who were much higher than me. (Keith)

We could more than hold our own on technical matters. (Walker)

We had technical expertise that direct officers didn't have. (Mike)

The dichotomy between skill levels and rank was observed:

Despite my lowly rank I was head of department. (Sol)

To some it was suggested that further study could only be undertaken if the training level was matched by rank, and this created annoyance:

Why shouldn't a Chief do a Master's degree? Are degrees only for officers? (Hugh)

Promotion to Officer however did not always ensure a job/environment fit and feelings of dislocation in the ward room were evident:

I was very good at my job, I knew my job well and had no fears about doing the job but I didn't know how I was going to fit in the ward room.

(Mark-Signals Intelligence /Warfare)

Many of the participants in this research had views on branch suitability for leadership roles and there was some criticism of the way that certain branches were more likely to assume command roles. Moreover, there was a clear correlation between branch and feeling comfortable in leadership roles:

I think the fact I was an aviator helped. (Kev)

We were all aviators so there was a degree of tolerance. (Scott)

Aviators had a strong group identity and suggested that they adhered less to strict protocol. This combined with opportunities to work in mixed rank teams enabled the men to straddle the divide with more ease. This was not the case for engineers however and there was incongruity between job-related disposition and the new social environ. Some engineers observed that the transition to officer was difficult. Janowitz (1964 p.147) recognised that

branch was influential in the success outcome of military officers and in his view 'while the Corps of Engineers has generals who have served as administrators and military technologists, it is not a major route to military leadership'. There is no doubt that engineers play an extremely important role in warfare particularly as new technologies develop but the research findings indicate that Janowitz was correct in his assessment of branch-related aptitude for leadership. Whilst engineers have very high levels of occupational competency many found the interpersonal requirements difficult. As Collins (2005 p.359) reflects 'persons at the very centre of intellectual networks ...may well be introverts'. Some engineers were confident leading engineering teams in terms of installation, design and maintenance but found the social and ranked interaction difficult:

Engineers do not transfer well. (Claude -Warfare)

I was an engineer, socially you were different to warfare officers. (Barry)

This demonstrates Collins' suggestion that some individuals chose a social environment that is more intellectual rather than overtly high in status (p.355). Collins recognised that someone who has a more methodical/logical persona may well feel detached from the mainstream, that their 'very motivation...causes some intellectuals to deliberately withdraw from interaction'. This is illustrative of Weber's 'polar opposites' (1948e p.426), the charismatic expression of domination as opposed to rational (bureaucratic) mode of leadership. Engineers often operated at very high levels of academic knowledge and saw the technical and theoretical constituents of their jobs as more important than the visual and social. As described by Lionel:

The engineering branch is perhaps unique in its professional rather than military approach to rank structure. (Lionel)

They were aware of their perceived academic superiority:

No offence but engineers are much brighter than the others...I had a few warfare officers tried to put me down, but as an engineer I was good at what I did. (Tony)

Putt (1943 p.52) illustrates the way that technology drives the Navy. Even in the first part of the 20th century he worked 'on a ship embodying all the latest marvels of applied science, equipped with destructive machines of terrifying accuracy and complexity'. This demonstrates the need for engineers who understand the complexity of these aspects of ship life such expertise is essential to the running of the Navy. Engineers, however, despite

‘carrying the means of production for their line of business’ (Macdonald 1995 p.162) never have full command of a ship. This is the role of a Warfare officer. Many considered the Warfare Branch⁷⁸ to have an innate predisposition to perform the command and social elements of officership:

There is a strong difference between branches, seaman branch being different from the rest. (Will)

Jim who progressed from Ordinary Seaman noted how direct entry Warfare officers embodied the perceived cultural expectations of naval command early on in their careers:

The seaman branch they are the Master race. They think they are God’s gift to the Navy, some behave like commanders when they’re still young, some of them, well they’re just idiots. (Tim)

Others agreed:

The seaman branch is completely dominated by public school types. (Giles)

That’s probably where the warfare branch dominate things. They have a feeling that they command and they’re best. (Dave)

The hegemony of the Warfare/Seaman branch is embedded in regulations that state clearly: ‘A warship is commanded by a Seaman officer...in the event of death or incapacity of the Captain...command devolves upon the senior surviving officer appointed for Seaman duties’ (B.R 1938. 1975). Officers from any other branch cannot take command and this influences the perceptions of who has leadership qualities.

The Engineer/Warfare branch tensions have historical roots- when Engineers were seen to be ‘the cuckoo in the nest’ (Lewis 1965 p.196). Lewis describes the differences between the two groups as ‘striking’ and when the engineer branch was first established in 1836, no engineering officer could receive a commission (they were deemed ‘unsuitable for the wardroom’) and it was a warrant rank. In the early days of the branch ‘not one of them, not even the most senior, had any claim to inhabit the wardroom’ (Lewis 1965 p.200). The history of these two fields has moulded their limits, and a cross temporal transmission of expectation continues to create real or imagined limits in what Macdonald (1995) suggests is a ‘difference that lies in the social structures of knowledge’. As Silva (2016) acknowledges

⁷⁸ The Warfare Branch was previously known as the Seaman or Executive Branch and these terms are interchangeable, the various terms reflect the era within which the participant served.

'categories of perception' are historically constructed... habitus has a historically transcendental' nature that passes on the constitutive elements of a field to each generation that passes through it.

There is strong occupational identity and it is clear that within the naval field there are subfields which have their own functioning conditions and rules. Silva (2016) suggests there is a need to 'explore connections' between the concepts of habitus and field and their intersection with 'local or territorial contexts'. Branch and Specialisation offer a clear arena for such investigation as they are visually and operationally distinctive fields within the service. These environments produce occupational branch-related ways of interpreting the Naval way of life and produce a 'particular class of conditions of existence' (Bourdieu 1984 p.56). Each branch and specialisation has its own linguistic codes, terminology and intellectual practices. These practices are matched by the spaces in which they operate creating sub worlds of occupational habitus that influence the response to the naval environment. Engineers predominantly work in closed spaces away from the centres of authority in areas that house machinery, weapons, aircraft, computer and electronic systems. Whilst Warfare personnel will often work on the bridge and in spaces of command and control such as operations rooms and communications offices. The hierarchical nature of the Warfare officer role is most overtly displayed when he is on the bridge of a ship, although in operational situations he would be in the operations room which is the technological and command hub of a ship.



Fig.36 HMS Ocean. The bridge is the high observation platform from which the ship is steered and controlled. <http://www.defenceimagery.mod.uk>



Fig.37 A ship's operation room in a Type 23 Frigate. The operations room is the Command centre of the ship in which all available Warfare data is collated and analysed. All weapons systems are launched, directed and controlled from this area.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-2226267/Royal-Navy-squares-forces-countries-biggest-military-exercise-Europe.html>

Occupational fields do not stand alone. They are interrelated within the naval field but they consist of 'specific rules' where players have 'set positions' (Grenfell 2012 p.67). In these fields the most important capital is knowledge of the job. The Navy consists of specialists and their jobs are very specific. It is however, this focus on specialist knowledge that can ultimately alienate the expert in the ward room. Acculturation into the social space of the officer is not easy for those who have an innate tendency for technological and scientific expertise, and do not enjoy or have the capacity for the social performance expected. Bourdieu (2000 p.160) recognised the effect of 'dispositions out of line with the field'. However, it was also accepted that habitus has 'degrees of integration' (p.160) and that habitus can evolve in reaction to exposure to new environments (p.161). There is a temporal element to the settling into a new environment. Although Bourdieu (p.161) suggests that 'those who were best adapted to the previous state of the game' may find a move to a new field difficult, he recognised that 'habitus change constantly in response to new experiences'.

Like the Aviators, Submariners found the transition to officer less problematic than those operating in other sub-fields. Although both groups have a very high level of technical knowledge there are other elements at play:

The submarine service was a very tight knit community, everyone knew I was going for officer and they supported and encouraged me. (Will)

I was a submariner. In that branch you are respected for your professional skills not your background. (Liam)

Submariners by nature of their work environment, found mixing with officers less problematic as their day- to- day work was in a very close-knit environment that did not allow for segregation between ratings and officers (Colville 2015). Exposure to danger and extreme work place discomfort and stress was a unifying element. This was also experienced by those on Special Forces type undercover operations. John worked in small operational units in Northern Ireland in highly stressful and dangerous situations. He felt that mutual dependency on each other regardless of rank meant that the officer/rating issue was eroded. He described how it was important to know your men in case you had to 'make that call' when someone was killed in action. This is the same for Royal Marines whose officers and men all have to undertake commando training without exception:

What the Marines have done, an officer goes through the same training as the lads, they're officers but they get on with it, it works well. (Steve)

There was a perception that certain branches did not embody the potential for the officer ideal. Dave (Supply Branch Rating/Logistics Officer) recognised it in his own branch:

Logistics⁷⁹ recruited from Regulators and PTIs they didn't have the right sort of people in the branch...they didn't know what they were doing. (Dave)

In Dave's view and experience, men who had served as ratings in the logistics branch were not perceived to have the required skills for officership. Their 'socially constituted dispositions' (Bourdieu 1990 p.13) were not compliant with the expected norm of officership. However, even within this branch there were perceived differences. For example a Writer may be more aligned with the officer corps as they would have considerable experience in diurnal interaction with officers, whereas Stores and Caterers may not have the same exposure. The branch therefore often recruited and promoted men from other specialisations such as Regulators (Naval Police) and PTI (Physical Training Instructor) – who may carry more of the expected corporeal and embodied attributes such as bearing and social competence for officer roles⁸⁰.

Summary

In the Navy, there is a hierarchical division of space which helps to establish the rating/officer divide. This division is set in place from the first day of training where the training establishments for ratings and officers differ considerably. Ratings are prepared for being at sea, living on large mess decks which are home to large groups of men in a predominantly working class culture that has been spawned over many generations. In my research, there were very strong classed views of the 'other' by ratings and they displayed significant classed prejudices.

⁷⁹ Logistics was previously known as the Supply Branch and this term was used by some participants in the research.

⁸⁰ Regulators and PTIs may also benefit from the fact that they are not direct entry specialisations and have to be selected and examined to join their branch, thus already having been subject to scrutiny. Assessment for these positions will include evaluation of their leadership qualities and relevant personal attributes.

Britannia Royal Naval College for officers has the atmosphere of a public school/stately home and encultures the officers into a gentlemanly environment. The demarcation of space helps to maintain the mystique of the officer corps.

There were considerable differences in material culture between the two groups. These differences transcended a huge range of consumption patterns of both material goods and eating patterns that signified class and 'breeding'. The ability to enter the officer world was influenced by the job of the officer and some jobs such as engineers, engendered a disposition that was not as easily aligned with the social requirements of officership.

Chapter.9 Difficult Times

Alienation and Hysteresis

Success depends on a lot of things; age and rate on promotion. They need to have effective intellect and ambition, enculturation into the ward room is not easy. (Captain Quinn)

The displacement of habitus as the rating relocates himself into the officer world can cause considerable ontological disruption, and the disconnection between habitus and operational field may result in what Bourdieu called hysteresis (Bourdieu 1977b p.83). . As the relationship between habitus and field is interdependent, when an individual is repositioned into a different field the symbiotic relationship is fragmented and can have a marked effect creating hysteresis (Hardy 2012 p.126). The highly regulated social and cultural expectations associated with rank are in themselves the cause of dislocation as one negotiates the differing regulatory practices within the rating and officer habitus.

The effects of hysteresis are vividly described by Ray:

I didn't fit in anywhere. Not age wise, not rank wise, or social status wise. It was lonely, sometimes I felt like crying... well to be honest I did cry it was lonely.

Feelings of difference and isolation were profound and as Ray's comment clearly illustrates the misfit was not in just one aspect of his life, it was across a spectrum of identity markers, none of which he could reconcile with his new status. It can clearly be seen that there is a 'structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them' (Bourdieu 1977b p.83).

A sense of not belonging was found in many responses such as Mike's:

Sometimes it was really hard, I used to think do I really belong here?

Tim, in his written account, used literature to describe his feelings, quoted from a novel by John Le Carré:

'Smiley found himself in the guards van of the social train, without a luggage label'- this was exactly the feeling I had.

The strong awareness of the social differences in the rating and officer habitus were recognised by all participants and all but two respondents suggested the differences had been problematic. Change in field position and the knock on effect of almost instantaneous conflict with habitus created considerable ontological tensions.

Most direct officers of the period joined the navy between the ages of eighteen and early twenties and acquired rank in accordance with time served from the day of joining. Promoted officers had to start the climb up the officer ladder from their date of promotion; for many this meant they were somewhat older than their rank contemporaries. This had been acknowledged as potentially problematic by the Navy itself, and 'they were [considered] too old to acquire readily the breadth of outlook and spirit of service necessary in an officer' (Lavery 2008 p.77). In an environment where rank is everything there could be little respect for the knowledge gained as a rating both in the work place, and more generally, in life:

People were the same age as me but they were two and a halves, they looked down on me, I felt inferior. I was married and had two children, I was twenty nine years old and a sub lieutenant. Officers of an equivalent rank had no experience and we had nothing in common, they didn't have experience or a family like me. (Ray)

Sometimes the age/rank disparity was huge and the lack of acknowledgement of what a promoted officer could bring to the ward room was frustrating:

I was forty one when I went to the AIB, I had been in twenty four years, I knew quite a bit! (Dave)

Mac echoed this:

My first ship as an officer was a real shock to me. As a Sub Lt my opinion seemed to count for nothing, whereas that last time I was on a ship as a CPO my knowledge was sought out by the commanding officer himself, on a personal level. (Mac)

The promoted officers had a strong sense of technical and practical superiority over their direct entry counterparts and were acutely aware of their work-based capital:

We (SD Officers) could more than hold our own on technical matters. (Kit)

We had technical expertise that new officers didn't have. (Mike)

The RN will always have a core of specialists commissioning from the ranks because of the expertise and experience you bring to your field. (Mark)

Despite my lowly rank I was head of department. (Monty)

One participant had been a world-leading expert on new computer systems on nuclear submarines, knowledge gained through personal study and practical experience. As a senior rate he was often called upon by very senior staff in the Admiralty, Ministry of Defence and other Government departments to give lectures and attend conferences at a very high level. Nonetheless on promotion to officer, he was immediately considered too low in rank (as a Sub Lt) to represent the Navy in his previous capacity. The dichotomy shown in the above comments demonstrate how rank is not 'directly or indirectly rooted in the division of labour' (Berger & Luckman 1996 p.158). For the direct entry officer a new sub Lt has not provided the Navy with any labour in contrast to a man of the same rank who may have served for several years. The above mentioned comments demonstrate that older promoted officers had a sense of working against the natural order, the orthodox view or doxa (Bourdieu 1977b) of the relationship between age and rank.

As Bourdieu notes there is a 'particular trajectory' that one is expected to follow when acquiring a position in social space and there is 'nothing more dogmatic than a doxa' Bourdieu (2000 p.15). Prevailing understandings of the relationship between age, rank and knowledge in the navy did not allow for any variation in the conventional structure.

Goffman (1959 p.38) recognises this is in his acknowledgement that in military environments 'trouble may arise' when the front stage performance required for a task does not necessarily match the rank of the individual, and there can be a disparity between the job requirements and the rank expectations. That due to the grading of men some 'tasks carry too much rank [and others] too little', this creating a dilemma for the front stage performer.

Whilst like David and the other participants who had considerable knowledge that was not sought because he was only a Sub Lieutenant, others found their opposite was true. Senior officers sometimes assumed relevant knowledge and experience in areas that the newly promoted had not encountered previously:

at that point I hadn't done much sea time, I didn't know any seamanship and ship stuff, I didn't know what I was doing. (Ray)

There was the assumption that I knew everything, because you are older you knew everything. I did know a lot but it wasn't the right stuff. Gordon

These disparities between what Ray and Gordon felt -what they didn't know and what was expected of them as officers- created considerable personal stress and a disturbance of psychic equilibrium (Jervis 2011 p.96). The unique circumstances that exist in the military create a condition in which hierarchical expectations and knowledge capital can be misaligned. It is unique because in all other professions it is normal for 'rank' to be gained with knowledge and experience and to be recognised as such. In other words the gradation of employees is aligned with knowledge and time served and the two rise simultaneously.

In the conditions described in the navy, knowledge and service are recognised and are vital components in officer selection, but the promotion has the unusual effect of placing the individual back down at the bottom of the officer ladder. In the cases where men had reached the rate of Warrant Officer or Chief Petty Officer there is often a downgrading of their perceived importance and knowledge. For example, a Sub Lt is seen to be low ranking whereas being a senior rate demonstrates seniority. This predicament is illustrated vividly by Mark:

Warrant officer is a lovely rate... because you can party and be fairly autonomous. I had a direct line to the captain, I had influence. I worked in intelligence and I took the stuff to the captain, he waited for my reports, he depended on me. Then suddenly I was junior officer and I was nothing.

The status of a senior rate is higher than a sub Lieutenant and there is therefore a loss of status which in turn can lead to a loss of self-esteem as seen by Mark's comment that he was 'nothing'. In this comment we can see what Kernis & Goldman (2003) call self-esteem variability. The self-esteem felt as a senior rate is lost on promotion and has to be built back up as an officer as they make the transition from the known habitus of the mess deck to the unfamiliar and divergent atmosphere of the ward room. In this sense the individual has his career reset whilst serving as a junior officer and is treated almost like an apprentice until he can catch up with the direct entry officers. For many this did not happen until reaching the rank of senior Lieutenant or Lieutenant Commander.

These age/rank differences were problematic not only in the day to day work environment but in the ward room too. The social expectations in terms of both age and class created considerable feelings of dislocation:

When I was on the wards at Haslar, professionally I felt on top of my work, but not socially. I was older than the others. (Sam)

I didn't feel I fitted in at all. I was too old to play with the youngsters and not accepted by the senior crowd. (Rory)

We can see here that confronting doxa can result in hysteresis, the linking of two of Bourdieu's ideas, where the confrontation of one results in the other. As Deer (2012) notes – the doxa will itself have agents who share a 'similar Habitus'. We can see from the above examples that newcomers with a divergent habitus could find it very difficult to fit in. For some individuals self-regulation was a strategy employed to deal with the situation:

Everyone was a higher rank than me so I kept my place. (Keith)

Socially I could not hold my own. With no interest in cars, women, sport or literature I used to shrink at events. I hid by helping to organise the food at events... I enjoyed the servant role much more. (Barry)

'Keeping my place' and 'hiding' were mentioned by several participants and created significant inner tension. These self-regulatory strategies were employed as a way of both maintaining identity (Baumeister & Vohs 2003) and, as Baumeister & Vohs (2003) note, self-regulation helps to 'maximise the capabilities of the self'. In this case the regulatory practice generates a space within which to pause until full officership could be embraced – for some this took a considerable time for example Dave who stated:

I didn't feel like I fitted into the ward room for about eight years.

The doxa of the officer world like other societies is 'self-evident' and taken for granted Bourdieu (1977b). There is no need to challenge the legitimacy of wardroom culture, as it is seen by the promoted ratings to be a clear cut realm in opposition to their own. However, on promotion, the new officer has rank status, but confronts the boundary expectation of that rank by either knowing too much or too little. As a consequence, he is institutionally sanctioned but his 'status remains uncertain' (Stewart 2013).

The entry of a rating into the officer world confronts the seemingly immutable essence of doxa and confirms Smith's (2001) suggestion that doxa is limited by agency and subjectivity. If, as Smith suggests agency 'rests upon the will to supersede... [the doxic] limits' (2001 p.158) then a rating who chooses to enter the officer world confronts the doxa of that habitat and challenges the confines of the doxa.

The assumptions of the doxa (Deer (2012 in Grenfell) are tested by the individual who enters 'through the back door' and therefore expose the entrant to possible rejection or trial and ultimately (it is hoped) acceptance. At the same time direct entry officers have their own conceptions about their corps challenged by promoted ratings.

Feeling Inferior

Janowitz (1964 p.200) suggests that 'social relations within the military establishment operate on the assumption that once an officer is admitted into the system, he is assured of acceptance'. This was not seen to be the case for many of the officers interviewed. The 'logic' of the situation (Tajfel 1981 p.128) as understood by promoted and direct entry officers, defined an interactional response that could not be disassociated from the psychological understanding of the previously assumed dynamic between the two groups. Many respondents felt that they were not readily accepted and that the 'real' officers looked down on them.

There were a number of officers who made it plain that former lower deck recruits were somehow inferior. (Tim)

I had climbed up the ladder the long way and I sensed the snobbery at times. (Johnny)

The Captain was awful in his attitude towards SD officers, we were regarded as not proper and he would totally ignore me socially particularly ashore⁸¹. (Keith)

A number of mainly senior officers had the belief that ex ratings were lesser beings and very much upstarts. I was not allowed to forget my past. (Gary)

⁸¹ Going ashore is the term used for time spent off duty away from the ship or establishment. When serving in a ship it is normal to say 'we're going for a run ashore' when the ship moors and sailors go to bars and clubs in the local vicinity.

I joined HMS Repulse and was introduced to the Captain. He said 'I did not want you I wanted a general list officer!' I thought welcome aboard. (Francis)

For some, separation in training from the 'real' officers demonstrated their inferiority:

We were kept separately until we were 'ready'. The idea was that we were the equivalent of any direct entry officer but it just wasn't true. (Dave)

The durability of the perceived rating habitus was acknowledged by comments as below:

My fellow officers openly demonstrated a snobbish but friendly attitude towards me. I heard the term 'you can get the man out of the lower deck but never the lower deck out of the man'. (Dick)

The 'delegitimation' (Skeggs 1997b p.130) of a working class person made good was discussed by several participants. For example, in brief comments such as:

You got back in by the back door. (Mark)

And even more specific stories such as Tony's story:

I was at the staff college where they have some of the best paintings in the world, and he stopped me and said 'Jones do you know who painted that picture and I said 'I don't know Sir' and he said 'that's why I never wanted an SD officer for that job'. (Tony)

Such comments demonstrate that promoted officers were unable to 'combine the totality of properties that characterize the group' (Lahire 2011p.12). Promoted officers were expected by General List officers to be lacking in essential cultural skills and there was no recognition of the cultural competencies that they may have brought to the group – most importantly knowledge of the mess decks that could be capitalised on.

If as Tajfel (1981 p.139) suggests there is 'any change in the status quo between two groups' the new officer will have to try and accept he is now 'one of them'. At the same time there may be some hesitance or reluctance on behalf of the established group to admit a new member. It is difficult for the 'real' officers to accept the parvenu, after all the survival of the officer corps is dependent on being organised 'against a common enemy' (Mead 1934 p.208). The promoted officer may be seen as an infiltrator as well as undermining the perceived superiority of the established officers.

Nomenclature itself was a negative source of 'metaphor and imagery' (Goffman 1963 p.15) and for older officers being named as an SD officer was matched by a literal interpretation of Goffman's observation (1963p.152) that 'the fully and visibly stigmatized...must suffer the special indignity of knowing that they wear their situation on their sleeve'. The following provides an example of negative classifying of the promoted officers:

My Dad was an SD (in the 1960s), and in those days they had different uniform buttons to proper officers and it would be noticed by everyone in the ward room the minute you walked in. It marked you out. (Dave)⁸²

Many participants expressed how they thought they were viewed:

SD officers...I suppose they are second class citizens. James

Without going over the top, as a sub lieutenant I was treated like dirt. Ray

Economic and Cultural Capital

A significant source of differentiation was the economic and cultural capital held by officers and the newly promoted:

There was a very big difference in financial background between me and some of the other officers. (Kit)

People will tell you 'he owns land'. (Gary)

There were several huntin', Shootin' and fishin' officers who looked down on us from the lower deck. (Paul)

It was very difficult for promoted officers to maintain the expected lifestyle. As new officers they had to pay for their new uniform (all variations) including swords⁸³ and were expected to attend expensive functions that were seen as obligatory. It was essential to be seen to be doing what was expected but also to network and gain social capital.

⁸² Dave and his father had both been promoted from the lower deck, during interview he proudly mentioned that his daughter had just recently joined the Navy as a direct entry officer.

⁸³ An officer may have many different uniforms for various aspects of his performance such as working rigs, formal dress No. 1s and Mess Dress/Undress.

Some financial adjustments had to be made... for the first time I had to pay mess expenses and it was expected that you would attend events that you had to pay for. (Chris)

New officers are often very hard up. You have to pay bar bills, attend compulsory functions that you have to pay for and they're expensive. (Ray)

The financial disposition however, was also a way in which 'real' officers could uphold group expectations, and demonstrating wealth or property possession was a well-recognised method of group maintenance (Ziegler 1985) in the Navy. It was accepted with gratitude by some:

On one ship there was a two and a half who owned half of Scotland and another who lived in a castle. But I realised they were ok and you know how it works, there is a system where they pay more into the mess and in effect they are subsidising my bar bill. (Ian)

Janowitz (1964 p.177) recognised the dichotomy between the lifestyle expectations and the income of a military officer, noting that 'the military profession cannot compete with the private sector in monetary rewards for its elite members. Professional commitments therefore depend on the persistence of a style of life.' The military, with its historic background of recruiting officers from the aristocracy and upper classes, was able to maintain urbane and gentlemanly ways without having to remunerate officers excessively because many had inherited or family wealth. This naturally led to difficulties for the 'class transfuges... who [have risen] from the social conditions of their origin by the path of education [or training]' (Lahire 2011p.37). Therefore, as Janowitz (1964 p.210) observed, 'assimilation into the strata of inherited wealth is difficult'.

It was obvious I was just a SD officer seeing his time out in esteemed company. (Tony)

The idea that those promoted from the rating corps were somehow a less desirable category of person (Goffman 1963 p.12) became manifest across a range of embodied and educational practices:

We were playing Trivial Pursuit and one of the posh little two ringers⁸⁴ who didn't know his arse from his elbow said 'of course we'll win hands down because we're the

⁸⁴ A two ringer is a lieutenant.

only ones who've had a decent education'... the snobbery it was too much for me. He was just such a wanker yet you knew he would get on. (Mark)

These attitudes led many to feel alienated in the ward room and there were considerable feelings of being out of place, a phenomena that Goffman (1963 p.49) likened to socialising in an 'alien' community:

As a working class lad it always felt a bit surreal, and not quite my place to be there. (Paul)

I had this overwhelming sense of inferiority. As a child from a council house estate rubbing shoulders with young men from top boarding schools and universities. My world was alien to them as theirs were to mine. (Gerry)

Feelings of alienation were created through deeply felt responses to a range of perceived differences, not just intellectual but also corporeal manifestations of real officers:

I felt socially and physically utterly inferior, they, the real officers, just seemed bigger and more proper than me. (James)

For Mead (1934 p.173) the 'essence of the self is ...cognitive' it is internalised and understood in its relationship to others as we become fused to our surroundings. Newcomers feel estranged and this can lead to significant ontological disturbance.

I was riddled with self-doubt. (Rob)

I was experiencing anxieties about my new status as an officer. (John Nixon 2013)

We carry baggage there is no doubt about it. When you come from a working class background it's like you're preconditioned to worry about these things. (Dave)

The new officer cannot forget his past: his rating life is a reality, his previous existence was integral to his sense of self and even if he tried to shake off his previous naval identity it was not possible. A promoted man may try and establish space between 'his total self and its reality on the one hand, and the role-specific partial self and its reality on the other' (Berger & Luckman 1966 p.162) but it is impossible to eradicate from memory the embedded self or habitus. In addition to this as Hall (1996) suggests, identity is shaped by exclusion, and 'the... construction of a constitutive outside leads to the production of... marginalised subjects'. The 'real' officers created a situation in which newcomers were side-lined, not necessarily deliberately but through practices which engender feelings of

alienation. The rejection of officers promoted from the rating corps has two functions: to maintain the hegemony of the wardroom and to hide the realities of officer conduct - that they might be exposed as not actually having superior qualities. In this way the officer corps remains 'a closed network so that resources can be preserved and reproduced' (Lin 2001 p.27). Goldthorpe (1980 p.176) also recognised the function of these closed networks, arguing that 'the arriviste will typically encounter coolness, if not actual rejection, in the social milieu that he has newly entered, since he may appear as a threat to their exclusiveness and...to the status of those already established'.

In the wardroom many officers continued to treat me as a junior rate, failing to accept I had made the quantum leap. I was excluded from numerous social functions, rarely invited to join them on runs ashore... and invariably singled out for extra duties that were unpopular. (Stan)

A discussion with the XO...highlighted that in his view ratings had no right to aspire to the ward room. (Barry)

Even the most confident had times when the past caught up with them:

It was Trafalgar 200 and I was on the top table... I just felt as if, as if... I just made excuses and left. I very rarely felt intimidated. (Tony)

This experience had been so difficult that this respondent was unable to fully articulate it fifteen years after the event. Feelings of inferiority did not only occur in the initial stages of officership, and for some they continued throughout their careers. Fred was still noticeably angry when discussing his treatment by officers from the other services:

The only time I felt out of place was when latterly I was the CO⁸⁵ of my own establishment and felt intimidated at meetings with the other services. I was the CO and yet they resented my background and they made it obvious. If there is snobbishness in the Navy it is nothing like that of the Army and the Airforce. The Air Force are just wankers they look down on people like me and resented having to take direction from me. (Fred)

As the commanding officer of a naval establishment this treatment would have been a direct affront to the individual's sense of identity as a senior naval commander. Again it is

⁸⁵ Commanding Officer.

seen how our subjectivity is rooted in interaction with others, and the interface between individuals provides an 'experiential location...for our existential phenomenology' (Collins 2004 p.3). What Collins describes as 'situations' highlight our understanding of who we are, or perhaps more saliently- what we are not. For some being asked to participate in ward room customs and 'high jinks' was anathema to their natural disposition:

At times officers with my background disapproved of some of the rituals and customs we faced in the wardroom, de facto a form of inverted snobbery. John Nixon (2013)

John was repulsed by the heavy drinking and bawdy behaviour that could be found in the ward room. In his 'search for coherence' (Tajfel 1981 p.137) he found dislocation or what Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.21) would describe as 'status incongruity' – a mismatch between his personal ethical and moral code and the codes by which others of his own or more senior ranks lived.

Temporal Implications

One of the key factors in finding ontological security was the speed at which the transition from lower deck to ward room had occurred. This ranged from seven months to twenty four years and this was an indicator of how much an individual had assimilated lower deck culture. (See Appendix 16)

For Putt (1943 p.58) an officer promoted from the ranks is initially 'a seaman on his best behaviour... whose manners must be impeccable'. He recognised the considerable difficulties for someone moving from the lower decks to the officer corps and suggested that 'pukka officers' should not be disappointed if a new officer does 'not automatically show signs of innate leadership'. In my research feelings of dislocation lasted for considerable time for some men and a few were never reconciled to their officer position:

It took four years to settle down as a real officer. (Will)

Yes it took me six years to become used to the ward room. (Rob)

It took several years to be honest. (James)

To be honest it took me about eight years until I could walk in there and not be worried that I was going to do something wrong. (Reece)

I don't think I ever really felt at home there. (Gary)

I never considered myself a 'real' officer. (Wayne)

A feeling that they were imposters was common:

Sometimes I felt amazed that I was an officer and thought 'they'll find me out in a minute'. (Monty)

I never really seemed to be part of the exclusive club even though I had the uniform. (Ray)

After I got promoted it was probably eight years before I felt at home in the ward room. I have always felt slightly nervy, if you have a personality like me you worry if someone is going to report you, you're always thinking 'who's watching me?', what do they think of me? I was supersensitive to criticism after I was promoted... I didn't want to do the wrong thing... coming from the lower deck you have these perceptions that there is a way to behave... I worried the whole time. (Dave)

Dave had served twenty four years before promotion and was the longest serving rating in this study. However, despite his considerable experience and knowledge, the transition period was still clearly a very troubling time. (Although Dave repeatedly said that he was not able to talk to officers socially, whilst the interview was being conducted he took a phone call and casually said 'Hi John' and talked amiably for a few minutes. When he came off the phone he said that was Admiral Potts. His 'air of competency' (Goffman 1959 p.55) hid any shortcomings he may have still felt he had.)

These anxieties or dislocations of identity can be fixed with time if as Hall (1996 p.19) suggests, identities are 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us'. As the officer becomes used to his position, absorbs its dynamics and gains in confidence his perception of self and identity slowly adjust or as Hall (p.19) describes there is a 'chaining of the subject into the flow of the discourse'. However for Bourdieu (2000 p.163) being a parvenu is always awkward they are 'forced to keep watch on themselves and consciously correct the first movements of a habitus that generates inappropriate or misplaced behaviours'. There are secrets to being a member

of the group (Goffman 1959 p.142) that give 'objective intellectual content to subjectively felt social distance' and outsiders have to learn them:

I never really clocked what was expected. (Ray)

It was a little tough recognising what 'they' wanted from me. (Chuck)

Men were keen to not be exposed as 'fraudulent' (Goffman 1959 p.66) and as naval officers they could not be seen to be weak because to show fragility would indicate that they had no right to play the part. There was no place for a slip in performance, sometimes the stress was extreme:

Any sign of weakness and they're on to you. (Mark)

Being from the lower deck made men feel vulnerable. (John Nixon 2013)

My boss at the time was a hard task master who had little time for pleasantries...Yes at times I did feel like crying. (Ray)

The awareness of vulnerability was demonstrated by those who felt that in some way it was hoped you would fail:

No one at Dartmouth points out the little things you need to know, like you cannot sit in the XO's chair, the little things you need to know so you don't look like an idiot. I think some of them want you to look stupid, it makes them feel better. (James)

For the vulnerable and those whose 'dispositions are out of line with the field' (Bourdieu 2000 p.160) security was found in familiar territory and they found themselves returning to the field that matched their habitus despite knowing it was both against regulations and performance expectations :

I naturally gravitated to spending my free time with the senior rates, and it wasn't very long before this was noticed and I was hauled into the Captain's office. (Mark)

I liked to get pissed with the senior rates, they (other officers) disapproved. (James)

With hindsight I probably stayed too familiar with those on the lower deck. (Gary)

As Hall (1996) argues subjectification cannot be produced without the constraints of rules, in this case the norms for naval officership. The promoted man may create his own subordination as he has spent a naval life complying with the rules of a rating operational field. There is an 'interior landscape of the subject' (Hall 1996 p.26) that has been built and created by a subordinate naval past. This naval past was shaped by comradeship and the 'paramount importance' of the mutual aid offered by fellow subordinated men. The officer world however, was found to be individualistic and hypercompetitive and lacked the mutuality of the mess decks.

Colleagues Not Comrades

A challenging factor associated with promotion was the loss of friends. The close bonds between lower deck sailors were not replicated in the ward room. The masculine working class solidarity of the mess decks was replaced by a more reserved gentlemanly colleague type of relationship.

As Jenkins (1996 p.86) suggests kinship groups provide a primary source of identification. In the case of the RN the mess deck fulfils the role of family and therefore kinship with other ratings is a fundamental bedrock of naval identity. True friendship in the wardroom was difficult or impossible to develop. Many participants were aware of the competitive nature of ward room relationships. It was observed that men socialised enough to get on but ultimately were engaged in a game of brinkmanship. The inability to make new friends was compounded by the cutting off of old mess mates either due to regulations on rating/officer association or as a result of perceived disloyalty. A new stage was set and a realignment of what Goffman (1963) calls 'communication boundaries' occurred. As Jenkins (1996 p.96) suggests 'others don't just perceive our identity, they actively constitute it'. Old mess mates assume you have changed, that you are 'one of them' and at the same time the ward room are wary of the arriviste. As Lahire (2011p.46) observes there are many incongruities between 'embodied past experiences and new situations'. Participants noticed how previous friends from the mess decks became suspicious and less welcoming after promotion, and the idea of having 'changed sides' reflected the oppositional nature of the rating/officer relationship:

I had spent three years with those people... and then I was treated completely differently because I had gone to be an officer... as the night wore on and the drinks flowed the piss taking went on. But it sort of went beyond piss taking they made it clear that you had changed sides. It was like they couldn't forgive you for it. (Mark)

I had been an apprentice with him and yet I had been commissioned and he hadn't. It felt like walking on a tightrope, if we weren't careful we could have done something we would regret. (Nicholas)

Nicholas went on to say that it could 'have come to blows'. In doing so, he demonstrated the 'divided self' - the cleft habitus that Bourdieu (2004 p.100) describes as being 'inhabited by tensions and contradictions'. This was illustrated by Dave too:

I had crossed the deck to the dark side, shall I talk to my mates or go to the ward room? (Dave)

For some the most problematic new relationship was with senior rates who resented or disapproved of the promoted officers.

Without a doubt the biggest difficulty was dealing with the senior rates that I had previously served with... especially where I was forced to reprimand people for poor performance. (Bruce)

Senior rates particularly Chief Petty Officers and Petty officers seemed to go out of their way to undermine my authority. (Mac)

The position of senior rate is highly regarded in the Navy and as such promotion could seem both a rejection of the special position which senior rates hold and an affront to their own specific authority.

The new position of officer particularly created tension when they had to carry out disciplinary duties –especially when reprimanding ratings that had previously been friends or mess mates:

It's difficult if you've been chummy and then you have to sort an incident out which involves one of your old mates, you have to take charge and try and be neutral. (Dave)

Performing the role required a sensitive and professional approach, and for Bernard as a new officer he was given the job to support a more senior officer held in military jail awaiting court martial:

In Singapore I had to be the prisoner's friend to the two and a half that was in the rattle. (Bernard)

The Navy was clear that the new role required a strong approach and the rules were maintained by both officers and ratings- especially senior rates:

I encountered a former lower deck friend and said 'Hi Biffo'. I was immediately challenged by his CPO who forcefully told me his name was Writer Smith and I should address him as such in the future. (Nicholas)

If we met [old friends] in a service scenario they called me 'Sir' which naturally put a barrier between us. (Johnny)

Front and back stage presentations had to be performed to uphold both naval regulations and the expected officer/rating dynamic:

I made no secret of my working class background but neither did I wear it on sleeve. I kept in touch with old lower deck friends but ensured that it was kept to an officer/rating relationship at work. (Gordon)

Janowitz (1960 p.203) observed that 'patterns of friendship are dominated by the military style of life'. The 'the rules of social contact' are clearly demarcated but although in his view 'intimate contacts and wide friendships with one's colleagues are the building blocks of a successful career... many contacts involve no more than surface intimacy'. This was experienced by participants; the camaraderie of the mess deck was missed by some and the false nature of the relationships in the ward room was observed:

The competitive nature of officers negates true friendship, someone talks to you because they want something. (Mike)

You don't make real friends, you have to laugh at the first lieutenants jokes even if you think he is a wanker. (Mark)

It lacked a real sense of fun. Everyone was just interested in promotion. (Alan)

It was observed by some that 'real' officers in their desire to demonstrate an officer aloofness, interpreted the role in an unpleasant way:

An officer actually said 'I'm not here to make friends, this is not a popularity contest'- do you really think anyone actually thinks this? (Mark)

My first captain, as an officer, told me 'don't trust anyone and treat everyone like crap, then you'll get the respect you deserve'! He was the worst possible human you can imagine. (Ray)

The depth and strength of rating friendship was illustrated by many and verified Jenkins' (1996 P.85) comment that "primary identifications ...are much more robust than other identities":

I developed no friends in the ward room. (Alan)

Mess deck mates are real, they're not like the false friends in the ward room. (Ray)

Life as an officer was solitary. I never felt the same thrill of comradeship I felt as a rating. (Bruce)

Three respondents articulated that their transition was unproblematic suggesting that their habitus was out of kilter with the rating field that they had entered on joining the Navy.

I found becoming an officer and entering the ward room relatively easy... In many ways I found the ward room a more welcoming environment than many of the messes that I had served in. (Kev)

Absolutely no trouble at all, you just get on with it. (Connor)

I had no difficulties... my fellow officers were extremely helpful and supportive. (Neil)

One officer was confident coping with the transition because he had the knowledge that others needed and had held considerable responsibility in his specialist field combined with a sound sense of 'individual ontological security' (Jenkins 1996 p.85):

I am not inclined to feel second class. They can take me or leave me and they had to take me. I had been responsible for (the new digital computer system) on eight nuclear submarines as a senior rate. All the Commanding officers knew me and they knew they needed me. I knew more than they did about the system. (Stan)

Stan demonstrated clearly the 'ontological complicity between the embodied (dispositions) and the objectified (situations)' (Lahire 2011 p.x). More importantly being an ex-rating helped and for Dave it gave him kudos, his considerable time as a rating gave him 'true' seniority and thus access to 'unofficial resources' (Hockey 1986 p.89):

I walked through the door and he saw my medals and looked at me and realised I was an old guy 'oh you're the Sub Lt', he had thought I was a new green sub Lt but realised actually I was senior to him as a rating too, he was fine after that and gave me what I needed. (Dave)

Putt (1943 p.58) also found that the officer promoted from the lower decks has a distinct advantage- knowing 'first-hand the conditions of the mess deck [this] far outweighs any...awkwardness'.

The Toll on Family Life

As discussed in the literature review, a woman marrying a member of the armed services marries into that service (Jolly 1987). The spouse carries the rank of her husband and upholds naval expectations aligned with her 'rank' providing the Navy with uncompensated labour, supporting her husband emotionally and practically. Many wives provide services that support the Navy such as charitable work, family support and assisting their husbands at official events.

i. **Being Promoted Together**

Any promotion received by a man is a promotion for the wife and family too. The response of the wife to promotion is an integral part of its success and she is subjected to many of the same class and status-related impediments as she negotiates her new 'rank'. German & Kaya (2005) found there was a 'robust marriage premium' for married U.S Marine Corps Officers and that married officers performed more successfully in every aspect of their jobs. Bourdieu (2001 p.98) recognised that wives 'functioned as investments' giving their husbands social and symbolic capital. Promotion offered a stable career progression and social mobility for the whole family. For some men it offered more opportunities to be with their families.

If I got promotion I could avoid sea time, I was fed up being separated from my wife and family. (Henry)

However for others, particularly Warfare officers this was not the case. The Malones, for example experienced even more separation, which was extremely difficult for the wife as she coped with her three children while her husband was away.

I was lonely and exhausted most of the time, it was like a treadmill and I did it all on my own. (Jean)

And for Lesley:

Sometimes I just cried, there were whole days when I was in tears and it went on and on. (Lesley)

Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.129) recognised the 'exchange relationship' in families as 'a series of unspoken, individual expectations of obligation towards each other based on the respective sacrifices of each'. In this context the obligations of the wives were to support the husband and 'to manage the details of family life which... can become a burdensome task' (Janowitz 1960p. 192) which is particularly difficult when there are 'endless readjustments to new environments, and uncertainties which fall heavily on the wife' (ibid). The sacrifices made are considerable; a Navy wife may have to manage the family and

home for long periods whilst her husband is at sea, at the same time foregoing her own career as she finds it difficult to negotiate her job with constantly moving house and the demands of Navy life. The stresses of military married life are considerable (Jessup1996 p.39). Many husbands recognised the considerable sacrifice that their wives had made; for instance many gave up their own jobs even when they had been well educated and had the prospect of a promising career:

My wife's nursing career was put on hold, whilst mine was developing. (Rob)

She couldn't go to work even though she was highly educated. (Tim)

Wives provided considerable support. For example, Captain Quinn recognised the mutual nature of the promotion process: 'it's a partnership, you move up together'. Furthermore, many respondents noted the importance of a joint approach:

You don't do this sort of thing in isolation, you do it as a couple. (Liam)

We did it together, a couple is stronger than two individuals, we encouraged each other. (Steve)

She pulled me out of my shell, she helped me get through it, she was a tough cookie, she pulled us through she worked hard she gave me confidence. (Ray)

My wife was a source of strength, she took it in her stride. (Paul)

It is probably the case that her strength of personality was very instrumental in the success of our marriage and my career. (Rory)

These comments demonstrate the considerable importance of the wife's contribution in terms of emotional and practical support and the contributory factor towards the husband's wellbeing and career progression. Promotion is a situation which requires considerable readjustment for the whole family; geographically, socially and

psychologically – the wife has to adjust to being an officer's wife. Some wives fully understood the new demands that would be made upon them:

She had been a Naval Nurse...so she knew what we were getting into, she was very pleased with my commission and entered the wardroom with consummate ease. (James)

My wife has attended many social functions in the senior rates mess and for the last twenty years in the wardroom. She has never felt out of place in either messes. (Will)

My wife was the daughter of an Air Force officer and therefore had the cultural background to take on the role of officer's wife. (Les)

My wife came from a similar background... she was intelligent and quickly settled into the life and was always a tremendous support. (Fergus)

For these wives who had the right cultural and educational capital, the transition to officer's wife was unproblematic but for many this was not the case. Becoming an officer's wife caused considerable disturbance:

I felt frozen with fear at functions, I felt like what am I doing here? I wanted to go home and be with the kids where I felt safe, I was just a Mum and someone who helped at the family day. (Josie)

My wife had had a glamorous job, she lost her confidence when she had the children, when we went to a do I would do the ground work first, we would go with another couple that she knew so that if I had to go off and talk to other people she would not feel left alone. (Tony)

Tony described a senior wife who helped his wife Sally:

She really took care of her, you know she realised Sally found it difficult, she was clever what she did. She was a social chameleon she mimicked where Sally was, not at any point did she give the idea that she was the senior wife.

Perhaps the most difficult area to negotiate was the change in status and the feeling that new officer wives did not have the social skills and come from the 'right class' to be in the ward room. Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.124) suggest that despite the gain in income for the upwardly mobile there are 'class limits' to what you can give your family. There is a fundamental imbalance of the classed experience in the new and old social worlds and 'class definitions intrude to derail him [the promoted] from a sense [of achievement]'. This disruption can result in feelings of intimidation resulting from a classed sense of inferiority or habitus clivé among the promoted officers.

My wife attended wardroom functions with me, she said she was always felt to be 'second class' by the other officer's wives. It was particularly hurtful as she herself is a professional person coming from a professional middle class family. (Bob)

My wife could find the attitude in the wardroom intimidating sometimes. (James)

Julie hated it sometimes, some of the wives were so confident, you could see they had come from good families and been to good schools. (Sol)

Perceptions of self are created within a social framework. When a new social group is entered understandings of who we are thrown into disarray. When a military wife enters a new cultural and social milieu, there is a chance that the sense of self will be disturbed. As the self is interpreted through social interaction the wives will view themselves through the wife framework and through their husband's rank, all of which require an ability to respond to the situation. For those who found that difficult and wished they could return to their former rating lives it was frustrating:

She did say 'I wish you never got bloody promoted'. (Ray)

Participation in the dinner party circuit was not just loathed by wives, officers such as Ray did not enjoy it either:

We didn't do dinner parties, we didn't like to socialise we just liked our own company, we were not full on navy like some couples.

Tony felt that his wife had considerable difficulty in adjusting and at times she avoided functions. He even drew the analogy between his wife's social class and her Navy place:

Sally doesn't fit in ...she struggles ...she's very conscious about herself, about things she says...she comes from a lower deck background... sometimes she would not come to a function rather than make herself look stupid... obviously I can hold my own... it came more to the forefront when I got promoted to the ward room.

His own self-confidence was not confined to his social skills, he felt that he was intellectually superior to his wife:

The thing is I was always much brighter than Sally.

The intrusion of the Navy into family life was considerable for some. For example one officer's wife was expecting their third child during his officer training at Dartmouth.

My divisional officer asked me into her officer to discuss my plans for the birth of my third child, this was due to take place during the last three weeks of training. She questioned whether it was the right decision to have a child during basic training and it was bad planning and may impact my chances of successfully passing out from BRNC. (Tony)

ii. **Expectations of Wives**

Captain Quinn, who had been responsible for welfare at times in his career discussed the problems for Navy families when a man is promoted:

The Navy is an all-consuming vocation- it's like someone being married to a vicar- things are expected of a wife... the wife has to be up to it.

His analogy of the vicar's wife serves the purpose of drawing attention to the duties of wives as they align themselves with the husband's role. There was an expectation that the officer's wife will take on duties such as entertaining guests and dignitaries, supporting families, undertaking charitable work and attending ceremonial events (Moelker & Van der Kloet 2006). When asked about how he and his wife coped, he said his wife had been deemed 'great at her job'. He noted however, that some wives were not thought to be up to it:

*I have asked my wife to fill in for Mrs***** and Mrs***** at a major national event as you can't trust some people to do the job properly. (Captain Quinn)*



Fig.38

Officers and their wives at the launching of a yacht.

This comment indicates clearly that there were strong cultural and social expectations based on classed, gendered and military lines that the wife would perform at social functions within the constraints of the wifely expectations. Moelker & Van der Kloet (2006) recognised that officer's wives undertook voluntary action 'to ensure the status position of their husbands'. However, not all women chose to or were deemed 'suitable'. The response to perceived wife inadequacy was extreme for two respondents. Bruce divorced his wife as he felt she was detrimental to his career prospects as she would not entertain guests at home or 'do Navy wife stuff':

We separated and got divorced soon after. I know it sounds mean but she just didn't fit. She wouldn't have dinner parties, she just refused to come to other people's dinners, to be honest it was detrimental to my career, other people began to notice. I told her that I wanted to go my own way. She just didn't get it, she said I was putting my job before her and to be honest I was. (Bruce)

The wife was expected to 'maintain and enhance the social capital' of the family (Bourdieu 2001 p.100) by not only expressing and reproducing the family's taste but by acting as a hostess (ibid). There were cultural and classed expectations of wives and those who couldn't comply with the anticipated norm were discharged in what some officers described as 'upgrading the missus' (Stan), or as Mac noted 'others left their wives for a more suitable model'. The new officer may have to get rid of 'unsuitable' characteristics that do not match the new performance (Goffman 1959 p.53). Some wives withdrew themselves from their husbands work life, like Bernard's wife who decided immediately that she would not participate in any ward room functions and his agreement meant that they found a way of dealing with it:

She said 'it's not for me, I don't belong in that world'. So I thought alright if that's what you prefer. It worked for us- she stayed at home. She wouldn't have fitted in. Her Dad was just a farm hand, she had no experience of life, she had lived a rural life and didn't know much. (Bernard)

Bernard's wife's refusal to even try and 'play the game' gave her a way of coping with her new situation, to withdraw completely and allow her husband to pursue his career whilst she brought up their children and kept the home. These activities helped her to maintain

her psychic equilibrium and sense of self. However, the examples demonstrate the significant social pressure put on wives to meet the role expectations associated with being an officer's wife.

Although expected to attend events, wives were however, excluded from full participation preventing them from having a voice and being able to contribute to social events. There was no recognition of her as an independent woman, she was presented socially as an extension of her husband and her own personal identity was overlooked (Goffman 1963).

You're just the wife of that person, no one wants to know about you. (Lesley)

Classed differences in cultural expectations of wives are vividly described by Dave:

At cocktail parties she would go 'I'm making small talk with people who I don't understand...'there were some wives, as lovely as they are, are a higher level intellectually... and they talk about completely different things... for example in the wardroom you couldn't say 'did you watch Britain's got Talent last night?' They'd probably never seen it. Well they'd never admit they'd seen it!

Interestingly two wives demonstrated that the wardroom was more accepting of ethnic differences. One wife wrote a note attached to her husband's questionnaire which commented that as a Tanzanian national she was keen to point out that she felt more included in the ward room. She noted how officers were 'immediately hospitable' whereas in the senior rates mess people 'tended to keep in groups with known friends'. Mrs C strongly believed that she felt officers were less hostile towards her as someone 'different'. This was confirmed by Rory's wife, a Thai national:

I think they [the senior rates] thought he brought me from a catalogue or something, or from a trip but the officers weren't like that they were friendly and interested in where I came from. (Marie)

For a woman to be thrown into a new social milieu by virtue of her husband's promotion it can be extremely fraught. The wife having shadowed her husband without actually

stepping over the work interface, may have little or no knowledge of the requirements associated with her new status. One of the interviewees described the situation with fluency:

I think the effects of promotion impose more on the wife than the promoted. They know little of how life will change, they have not been reported on and selected on the basis of having a probable personality able to make the change. (Hugh)

Hugh makes an important point and demonstrates the difficulties faced by the wives of promoted officers. The officers have been selected and assessed as being suitable yet the wives have not had any official evaluation with regard to their suitability for the role, yet as Jervis(2011 p.37) notes the lack of official scrutiny does not discount the belief that they are subject to critical evaluation:

Even though an open reporting system that discourages remarks about spouses has now been introduced, wives' conformity with military expectations is encouraged simply because so many believe, irrespective of the reality of the situation that such policies still exist.

One of the most senior officers interviewed had a clear view that wives were part of the officer package and that they had to make the transition with their husbands:

The wife has to operate at whatever level you are operating at. If you are at a senior level then she has to be, but you can't trust all wives to do the job, some are not up to it... you (the wife) have to be socially confident, to attend cocktail parties and sea days etc. Captain Quinn

iii. Embodied Expectations

The role of spouse requires a strong front stage (Goffman 1959) performance. There is little ambiguity about the face expected and wives were advised and counselled by senior wives. Senior wives were complicit in the perpetuation of the wifely ideal and perpetuated ideas about the expectations:

My wife was a proper captain's wife. She would invite all the new wives round... she spoke to them about their different position now, she talked to them mainly about dress, how they should dress now. (Paul)

The Captain's wife, she would say 'You can buy your first suit from C&A but do get 'your little woman to reline it'. She told the new wives to get the right hat for the occasion and make sure you have the right accessories to go with your outfit.(Josie)

The visit from the senior wife to the new wives was commented on by all of the wife respondents and some of the officers. Many of them related these comments with humour in retrospect but the demands upon new wives were nevertheless unusual and sometimes stressful. The comments above demonstrate not just a guide to the expected visual representation of the wife, but the comment regarding getting a 'little woman' to make the suggested amendments to a cheap garment, also suggest an implicit understanding that an officer's wife is above doing it herself and is likely to have the means to employ someone to do them for her.

Wives were advised and guided in a range of ranked expectations and in the same way that their husbands attended the 'knife and fork' course the wives were subjected to instruction in the ways of officer wifeship. This was an overt effort at giving the wives the cultural capital they needed to perform the role and to spare them from making mistakes.

I remember moving into the quarters, the Captains wife invited me round for a cup of tea and gave me the talk. No jeans – ever! Can you believe it now, but officers wives could not be seen in jeans? And she told me never to be seen with my rollers in. It was funny looking back on it but I was quite intimidated by her at the time. (Josie)

Yes I was told no jeans, they were not suitable clothing, it was also suggested that my hair needed a cut, an officers wife needed to look groomed. Lesley)

Expectations of wives at social functions included strict dress codes:

Carol had to increase her range of clothing for social events in the wardroom to include cocktail and long dresses... she made choices consistent with what was expected. (Nixon 2013 p.183)



Fig.39 'Ball gown to be below the knee. Any splits must not rise above the knee'

These visual expectations were matched by coded expectations of duty and responsibilities.

When the Captains wife spoke to me she enquired if I did any charitable work. She suggested that I did a 'bring and buy' sale. When I said I was looking for a job she looked concerned and asked me how I could possibly have the time to go to work being an officer's wife. I think she really just thought it was common, that I shouldn't be seen to be going to work. She didn't understand that I just wanted a bit of a life, to have a little bit of money that I had earned and didn't have to ask Steve for. (Vicky)

A senior wife commented that 'it was almost acceptable for wives to work now'!
(Josie)

That wives were given these instructions should not only be seen in a negative light. The senior wives were not necessarily forcing their own views on others. It was a way of supporting each other and creating solidarity between them, a way of assisting the new wives through the stresses of officer wife life. Clearly, the officer class with its history entrenched in aristocratic ideals could be intimidating for the socially mobile and the semi-formal ritual of instruction in expectations, allowed new wives a fair chance to participate in a way that they would not make fools of themselves. To give guidance in expectations of appearance and conduct allowed new wives to feel a degree of confidence, albeit with the resentment or perhaps even shame that their own ideals may be seen as inadequate or culturally subordinate.

Wives were under pressure to present themselves in a way that upheld their position. They were made aware that their conduct could influence the husband's career. The legitimization of the promotion by changing outwardly embodied properties was essential if the couple were to progress through the ranks. In the Navy, the levels of symbolic domination among officer wives were considerable but some like Vicky, whilst grateful for some guidance drew the line at linguistic advice:

She [the Captains wife] was ok I mean she tried to help me you know told me about when you should or shouldn't wear a hat. But then she sort of told me that my accent could be 'softened'. Softened! Who did she think she was? It was how I spoke, I wasn't gonna put on an accent, anyway it would sound ridiculous, I was from Enfield not bloody Surrey or somewhere, anyone would think I was out of Eastenders!

Vicky did go on to reflect that her accent had changed naturally and discussed the duality of her life as she straddled the world of the officer wife and her family when she went back to see her sister:

I can hear myself changing accent back to how I used to speak. It's funny really something that annoyed me so much and then I went and did it without thinking about it. (Vicky)

These comments reflects the shifting nature of habitus, when over time wives aligned themselves unconsciously with the expectations of their new operational field, that 'socially constituted dispositions' (Bourdieu 1990 p.13) can be acquired and absorbed.

However, some wives were judged as lacking the embodied expectations. For example, Mitch saw it in his own wife:

She didn't look right, or talk right, she couldn't talk the talk.

Janet would not have been up to it, she wasn't officer's wife material....sometimes she wore those big earrings, you know big gold circles... it made her look common. (George)

Gordon (below) had acquired enough cultural capital to know that overt or excessively flamboyant displays of wealth were not appropriate for officer's wives, he knew that his

wife had not acquired an understanding of the social mores of classed presentations of self and that her 'bodily disposition carried the markers of social class' (Skeggs 1997a p.82).

The funny thing is that a lot of real officer's wives don't do all that. I mean sometimes an officer's wife looks like she shops in Oxfam and there was Debbie all perfect hair and long nails painted up and Well it just didn't look right, she just looked like she was too dressed up you know she just didn't get it. (Gordon)

iv. Co-opted Labour

The military wife is often a 'co-opted' member of the armed force albeit without recognition – no uniform, insignia or pay. Uncompensated labour can involve a range of activities, all of which play an important part in Navy life. Moelker & Van der Kloet (2006) suggest the wives of more senior officers take on the role of 'shadow commander' or 'mother superior':

My wife undertook the duties of a naval wife easily, she was the 'mother' to all the crew and their families. (Tim)

The wife needs to support, understand and even participate in the job sometimes. (Fred)

There were several examples of this discussed in interview, such as the highly recognised importance of the wife as an integral part of the dissemination of information⁸⁶ - distributing information starting with the Captain's wife and passing down to rating wives.

The wives operate the information cascade. (Paul)

The wife is regarded as a 'commodity' who has value both to her husband and to the Navy. . However, due to her situation – unpaid and without an official role or vocation - she is alienated from the means of production and the actual performance of military activity.

⁸⁶ This was an important job in the era before internet communication.

The boundaries between military jobs and uncompensated support roles of the wife are often blurred when wives are sometimes relied on in the day-to-day activities of Navy operations. The clearest example of this was discussed by Jean who had considerable duties as a wife which fell within the operational requirements of the Navy. Jean discussed how she had acted in the role of an intermediary between her husband and other personnel in the 'small ships' system. Acting as an intermediary in operational tasks she was in effect, doing a Navy job. She was in the words of her husband a 'trusted member of the team' and as such was instrumental in the success of her husband's career.

Two wives discussed how they assisted their husbands in the preparation of reports on staff. The wives had a clear understanding of the hierarchical structure and the institutionalised language of the Navy, as Jean relates:

I checked the reports he did on his staff. I wanted them to look good and to ensure he produced good quality reports on his staff. (Jean)

Jean was checking the reports to ensure they looked good. She wanted her husband to be recognised as an efficient and proficient officer. Here, wifely tasks went way beyond the normal 'coffee morning stuff', and demonstrate that the wife was a working part of the relationship:

My wife worked in service families... she had a good idea what people were going through and it helped me help others. (Ray)

The above examples demonstrate that wives played an essential role in helping their husbands adapt to and perform their role as officer. Where the husbands doubted their ability to do the job, wives enabled them to develop their role and broaden social and managerial skills. Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.130) recognised this phenomena suggesting that whilst 'the sacrificer resolves to look at his own actions as essentially serving the welfare of another' he is 'also making demands...on those for whom he is struggling' (p.126). In my research, perception of self and identity is intertwined with that of his wife and she has an integral part in his perception of officership.

v. Problems

There were many instances where promotion put strain on marriages:

It has a big effect on family life, for example in the warfare branch it means you have to do lot of sea time. (Claude)

The sea time I was required to do made me miss my growing family... and of course my wife very much. (Chris)

When on leave, I spent most of my time sleeping, and had little time for my young wife. Fortunately she understood and was most supportive. (Les)

I find it very difficult to switch off my professional side... My wife states that she doesn't think I have enjoyed a holiday since I was commissioned and I think she is right, work always comes first. (Tony)

Janowitz (1960 p.188) recognised that a wife may respond with a reaction 'of resentment and boredom' if her military husband has 'careerist motives' that exclude her from her husband's work life. This could lead to a fissure in the relationship. For some officers their promotion was the precursor to divorce and the ensuing discord was a two-way exchange:

She wouldn't attend my passing out parade at Dartmouth, it really hurt me as I felt like... well I've done this for you. It's all for you. (Mark)

The marriage ended within a few months of promotion and Mark had to renegotiate his idea of who he was as both an officer and a newly single man. This was especially difficult because he recognised that marriage gave an officer 'employer favouritism' (Cerman & Kaya 2005):

I was annoyed really, you need a wife if you want to get on, and on top of it she told me I had to have the kids as she couldn't cope so I had to ask for a shoreside job so I could look after the kids. The Navy were ok about it but it blots your copy book, they don't like people ducking out of sea time. (Mark)

For some, discord manifested itself in other ways as wives compensated for their lonely and disconnected lives by spending money or entertaining friends:

I had enjoyed a normally disturbed Navy marriage. It was a struggle financially as my wife used retail therapy and feeding half the street as a form of compensation.
(Simon)

His marriage deteriorated through the constant separation and he stated that his wife 'did not really enjoy social functions', she found it difficult and he continued:

We were divorced and the children were in my custody.

For Harry, promotion was the precursor to divorce:

I think my promotion hastened my divorce. It may have happened anyway as we married so young and we grew apart, we both changed. Certainly she was not happy with my promotion it changed her life too much.

For men who were pushed into promotion by their wife it did not always have the intended outcome:

My wife had chosen to give up work completely, money was always short. She didn't really want to go to work, it wasn't as if she couldn't do a few hours a week. Anyway she gave up as she saw my promotion to greater and more affordable things, but she took being an officer's wife too far...buying expensive clothes and spending loads of money on her looks. It was money we didn't really have. ...promotion bought on the end of the marriage, she wanted more and more all the time I just couldn't do enough for her, it had to end because she wanted so much. (Gerry)

Two couples had to work hard at their front and back stage performances as they dealt with the unusual position of both being in the Navy at different levels in the hierarchy:

My wife was still a rating and we would maintain an appropriate relationship at work, but at night share the washing up! Mitch

vi. Extended Family and Friends

Although Goldthorpe (1980 p.147) describes the bonds between close family members as 'primordial', he recognised there was a possibility that the socially mobile may withdraw from 'primary social relations'. Family problems related to promotion were not restricted to marital relationships. As Goldthorpe (1980) suggests, social mobility, in some instances 'destroys the balance of social exchange' which occurs between partners in a 'stable relationship'. For some just being in the Navy rendered them unfamiliar to their families:

Joining the Navy altered my relationship with my family, they knew little of life other than their own and never really understood what I was doing. (Finn)

The alienation from family increased after promotion as Finn reflected with regret the distance that grew between him and his family as his status changed:

Once I was an officer they understood less, they thought I was a snob now that I had grown out of their world, we hardly see each other it's not worth the hassle. (Finn)

The idea that the new officer was perceived as 'different' after promotion was commonly expressed and as the men moved onwards in their careers their families were, in some instances viewed as resentful, as if they had been rejected. Sennett & Cobb (1973 p.149) describe how social mobility can create feelings of disloyalty. This is because 'what is one person's individual achievement in the eyes of authority becomes betrayal for others'. Alongside similar lines, Goldthorpe (1980 p.148) refers to a number of studies that suggest the preservation of family ties is difficult when a person moves to another social group. However, there are a number of reasons why such family-related difficulties might arise. An obvious reason is geographical relocation, which is the norm for Royal Navy personnel – who are required to move frequently across the UK and abroad causing considerable disturbance to family life (Jessup 1996).

However, there is also recognition of what Goldthorpe (1980 p.148) describes as 'cross-pressure' as an individual is exposed to influences from 'both their class of origin and their class of destination'. Goldthorpe argues that any such cleavage is not a result of psychological disaffection with the primary habitus but rather the burden of having to straddle across 'two sets of norms'. Alternatively as Bourdieu (1999 p.510) suggests a

parent may be 'ambivalent' about a son's success if the child has overtaken them, feeling both 'pride in his son [but] and shame in himself'.

My Mum and Dad - I don't think they really got it, I mean they've come to stuff with me but not a function I mean they just wouldn't fit in, you know they're from Peckham they wouldn't fit in the ward room. (Mark)

Mum and Dad were very proud, but one sister couldn't accept the notion that her baby brother was an officer...she considered me to have become arrogant, which was totally wrong. (Giles)

A close relative expressed misgivings about me becoming an officer, but what can you do? You can't stay where you are to please your family can you? (Steve)

My Mum says I changed when I became an officer, sometimes I think she's talking crap but you know I have. I have changed. (Scott)

Many lost touch with parents and siblings and for some it was particularly sensitive:

My mother had been particularly difficult as she cannot come to terms with the fact that with any job you naturally change. She was even more difficult when I became an officer. I had moved away from her, not just out of Wales but out of us understanding each other. I will always question why I did become an officer, it has come to me at great personal loss. (Dai)

This sad reflection demonstrates vividly the extent of the loss an officer can feel. Dai's pertinent observation, of his moving away from his mother physically and emotionally, expresses the extreme sense of loss it has caused him, has left him with the feeling that maybe his promotion has come at a heavy price.

Parents felt betrayed by sons and at the same time officers consciously and unconsciously recognised that their new world positioned them in a socially different place. As Lahire (2011p.40) observed 'it is hard not to be upset by one's parents when one gradually comes to see them through the eyes of another world, on the basis of other ways of speaking,

looking, acting and feeling'. This stigma through social structure (Goffman 1963 p.43) is described clearly by Tony:

I have to admit I am embarrassed by my parents, I wouldn't want some of my friends to meet them. (Tony)

In contrast, for some officers the promotion enriched their relationship with their parents:

After I was commissioned my mother was delirious, she had gained status by having an officer son, I took her to a ward room dinner and she thoroughly enjoyed it, she felt she had achieved what she had always worked for. (Bob)

When discussing his achievement he consistently did so within the framework of both pleasing his mother and positioning the family 'where they belonged'. This was also the case for Paul who finally became an officer after eleven years. He described his mother as being:

Very down when I had to join as a rating... she had more in more in mind for me, [after promotion] she was happy then, it seemed like I was her son again after years of not really approving of my life.

Goldthorpe (1980 p.176) recognised that 'mobility is likely to result in the disruption not only of the individuals' kinship relations but also of the entire pattern of his social life'. This is particularly salient when discussing the idea of home to a sailor and his family. Woodward (2002 p.50) observes that 'the idea of home is constructed through time and space... [home] represents security, rest and respite from the demands of the public sphere'. However, this may not be the case for those living in married quarters. The key features of home – the spatial, geographic location and private domestic environment (Woodward 2002 p.49) were dictated by an authority outside of the family for those living in married quarters. Mandated relocation was often complemented by officers deciding to upgrade their living situation to match their new position. This often came at a cost:

On Rowner⁸⁷ the Kids had a fantastic time. The Mums would go and chat all the time and the Kids were free to play out, it was safe on the patch⁸⁸. We lost all that when we moved, we were aspiring to buy a house, so we bought a house and then you weren't in that community anymore. (Dave)

We loved living on the patch. Yeah it was like a council estate and we sometimes wanted to be out of it, but really it was great. We were part of it, Tracey loved it she had good solid friends who helped her. The wives helped each other when we were away. The kids loved it they could play out especially in the summer, they would play out 'til dark. Then we saved up the deposit for a house and when we moved we liked it for a few days and then we thought 'what have we done?' but there was no going back. The kids hated it, there was nothing for them. (Gary)

For Goldthorpe (1980 p.175) social mobility is mirrored by 'status mobility' and the burdens of status were felt by all members of the family. Children were subjected to officer ideals and ranked codes of behavioural expectations too, as the comments below demonstrate:

In Mauritius... the kids were expected to be to not seen and not heard. They were like fireworks ready to go off. We had to take them out, away from quarters so they could let off steam. (James)

It was made clear to my son he was an officer's son, that there was ways to behave. (Alan)

For the children who had lived happily in the ratings married quarters the father could be become a 'burden or embarrassment' (Sennett & Cobb 1972 p.133) and they in turn became the subject of taunts and bullying from friends who felt a sense of betrayal on behalf of their own parents who were left behind.

The relocation of families had a knock on effect, challenging the previously held belief that wives 'were all in it together' –the solid belief that they supported and helped each other

⁸⁷ Rowner was a large married quarter patch in Gosport for Ratings and Senior rates at the time Dave was living there.

⁸⁸ A Patch is the colloquial name for a married quarters estate.

was compromised by promotion. The cost of upward mobility for wives was the estrangement from her friends or even grief (Jolly 1987). As the wife was promoted she now had status as an officer's wife. This led to the separation physically and socially from rating wife friends and acquaintances.

The situation for my wife was different. Although she was the same person and treated no one differently she found her friends became rather wary and less willing to share in the same way as before I was promoted. (Mitch)

On promotion my wife and I lost a few 'friends'. (Hugh)

There were sometimes efforts to make life more egalitarian for wives such as the 'wives clubs' that were formed in some quarters. They were supposed to be multi-rank and open to all. However, as Lesley discussed:

They were supposed to be for all of us, you know rating's wives and officer's wives. But it never worked out like that. We just separated out, sort of naturally, you know, rating's wives on one side of the room and officer's wives on the other, we never really mixed you know. When I look back on it, it was ridiculous, you know, I mean we were all wives, all of us were having a hard time and yet we just kept separate. In some ways it was more difficult for the officer's wives, we were supposed to be more, you know, more British. We couldn't just burst into tears and say that we couldn't cope as we were supposed to set an example to the rating wives, it was ridiculous just ridiculous, I don't know how I got through those times. (Lesley)

As Lesley demonstrates the double burden of having your husband away at sea or in a dangerous situation was compounded by the inability to share your thoughts constrained by a class induced requirement to not capitulate to emotion. The expected management of feelings (Hochschild 1983 p.89) such as this, matched ranked responses to a range of social occasions, and even happy events such as the homecoming of a ship did not prevent the ranked differences coming out:

I was waiting for my husband's ship to come in, I was waiting on the quayside and got chatting to another wife. We started up a friendly conversation and were getting on fine. Then when the ship came in I pointed out Tim up there on the deck and she realised I was an officer's wife, she gasped and the conversation stopped immediately. (Jean)

There were however times when the ranked interaction was suspended. The reality of war and the egalitarian nature of danger and even death for their husbands provided wives with a non-classed way of viewing their situation:

We still came across wives who wore their husband's rank on their sleeves. However my wife cites families day during the Falklands War... she met a lot of other wives in the same situation and realised that there was not much difference between the wives, there was no point in trying to be someone she couldn't be. (Tim)

Lahire (2011p.37) recognised the 'symbolic values that are socially different in the context of a hierarchical society'. The burden of moving from one group to another created considerable stress as men and their families negotiated the new value systems forced upon them. This 'personal [and] social disequilibrium' (Goldthorpe 1980 p.176) can affect all members of the family and as Goldthorpe discusses can lead to psychological 'disorder' having a 'generally dissociative effect'.

Summary

It can be seen that the officer's response to promotion has a profound effect on the family. The promotion relocates the wife, children and even the parents of the officer. The desire to move upwards can create disharmony within the marriage and injure the relationship with parents as they feel disconnected from their sons whom they perceive to be 'above themselves'. The cognitive stability of both husband and wife may suffer temporary or even permanent disruption as they try to fit in with their new circumstances and try to practice the norms of the officer family. This can lead to anxiety, stress and feelings of alienation. Wives can find meaning in participating in their husband's work by giving co-opted labour that is not paid for but compensated by a ranked position in the spouse hierarchy. However

autonomy is lost and women are restricted by their husband's success or lack of, and they are unable to overtake him in the labour market.

Whilst there was no official requirement for a man to be married on applying for promotion there is a strong case to suggest that having a supportive and understanding wife who was fully aware of naval traditions and expectations was helpful. The husband could present himself to the selection board as a content, steady and happily married man with support at home thus enabling him to undertake his career without concern that he may be fickle or (in the days before gay family equality) 'deviant'.

Janowitz (1964p. 194) recognised that some families were 'spread across class lines' where a father/ son/ brothers could hold different statuses within the military – which could cause either pride or tension such as the experiences of Bernard:

My Dad was proud of me. He was a Chief and the first time he had to salute me he was proud. He knew his son had done well and he had no issue recognising me as an officer.

And Fred:

My Dad never really talked to me again. He thought I rejected him as a Dad and as an NCO.

It was clear, that for many respondents that promotion had a considerable effect on their families one way or another and thus altered their perceptions about themselves.

The impact on my family was that my wife and I divorced. I cannot attribute everything to ...being promoted from the lower deck... but our problems began then.
John

Chapter.10 Conclusive Comments

Influences on Promotion Outcomes

‘Ratings who show exceptional powers of leadership, character and technical ability may be selected for promotion.’ (B.R 1938, Naval Ratings Handbook).

There is no doubt that the Royal Navy is an outstanding educator and conduit of upward social mobility. As Light (1998) found, military service enhances socio –economic mobility in three ways:

1. It increases personal independence by providing a break from civilian life (geographically and in terms of personal relationships)
2. It provides educational and vocational training,
3. It provides the individual with the necessary experience in dealing with large bureaucratic structures.

The men who are represented in this research were given considerable opportunities across a range of educational, cultural and social fields. There is no way of knowing how they would have fared in life if they had not joined the Navy, but many may not have had the significant career trajectory illustrated within this work. The quote above from the Naval Ratings Handbook, shows that men selected for promotion to officer are expected to have ‘exceptional’ qualities and they may have fared well in other jobs. It is however the case, that few jobs during the period researched, could match the status of being an officer in the Royal Navy. Not only does the Navy comply with Light’s findings, but it is an historical component in the British power elite and has considerable presence in our national cultural consciousness and thus rank in the Royal Navy signifies an individual’s ‘rank’ in civilian society.

Whilst Bourdieu (1990b p.60) recognised that not all members of the same class could ever share exactly the same experience, it is also clear that no two promoted ratings ever experienced exactly the same response to their situation. Although the evidence

overwhelmingly suggests that there are problematic aspects of promotion which are not quantifiable and thus not 'teachable' by the Navy, there are some individuals who come out of the process relatively unscathed. This reaction cannot just be put down to having the support of an understanding wife or a highly competent mentor officer. Essentially it is a response of the individual, how they coped with the change in their position and their ability to adapt - how their habitus absorbs the requirements of their new habitat by 'degrees of integration' (Bourdieu 2000 p.160).

The one officer who stated emphatically he 'had no problems whatsoever', was the one who came from the most impoverished background – not knowing either his mother or father and having been brought up in various institutions. However, it may be this that gave him the resilience to deal with the situation and he was more adaptable. It is likely he would have had to 'perform' throughout his childhood as each move was made and he learnt the skills needed to 'fit in'.

Regardless of their exceptional career paths, all but two of the participants indicated that the journey to officership and their subsequent performance of the role had created, at times, ontological insecurity. This manifested itself in a range of personal issues such as self-doubt, alienation, kinship and friendship problems. However, the core of the problem was what Bourdieu (2000 p.160) described as 'dispositions out of line with the field'.

These difficulties arose regardless of the route to officership. All of the various schemes to officership had the same outcomes. For example, it was a surprise to see no difference in response to promotion for Artificers. Artificers were recruited with academic qualifications, and training focused on a strong technical and theoretical engineering programme⁸⁹ with the expectation that they would be promoted to Senior Rate rapidly. Despite this, the research found no difference in response to promotion to commissioned officer when compared to ordinary entry ratings. This suggests that both social class and time spent on the lower deck have such strong effects on ontological understanding of self that preparation for a fast career trajectory is not enough to pave the way for a move in status.

Influences that affected the promotion included the following categories:

⁸⁹ All Artificers are Engineers and had a specific career trajectory expectation, in essence it was a fast track scheme. .

Good Guidance from Senior Officers

For many participants, the diligence and competence of the officer overseeing training was critical. Staff overseeing the transition have to be highly competent at recognizing individual's skills, issues and potential problems:

They must see the potential Admiral in the candidate but realise he is from a poor family and may need some help. Connor

Education

Education is very important, **not** in terms of qualifications, but more congruent with Sennett & Cobb's (1973 p.24) suggestion that 'education covers at the most abstract level, the development of capacities within a human being'. Participants such as Connor, Paul and Steve had attended Grammar school but been unable to stay on to sit their exams. They did acknowledge that the discipline and regimes at their schools had given them the skills for the hard work required to undertake the personal study and self-discipline for entry to the Officer Corps. Grammar school participants also felt that they had had some initiation into some of the cultural competencies expected. The opposite was the case for those who had been to comprehensive school regarding their ability to adapt. This may be because education from more traditional schooling undertaken in the 1940s-1960s⁹⁰ may have been more resonant with the cultural and social expectations of the wardroom.

This suggests that if educationalists want to give students the tools for social mobility they have to include more than educational certificates, Foucault (1977 p.189) noted 'we are entering the age of the infinite examination and of compulsory objectification' yet such certification cannot make us accomplished in all of the proficiencies required. The idea of teaching manners, deference and behavioural codes is abhorrent to many educationalists and indeed sociologists; what right does any dominant group have to impose cultural 'rules' on others? Overt symbolic domination of this kind is not seen to be compatible with an egalitarian society, which should be accepting a range of cultural interests and norms. It is

⁹⁰ Comprehensive schools became more common after 1965.

however the case that without some of these cultural tools it is not possible in work places such as the Navy to move upwards⁹¹.

Era

The men in this research joined the Navy over a period of fifty three years from 1934 to 1987 and some were still serving until 2012. Generational differences were profound.

The older men found it easier due to (in their opinions) better state education, a different view of society in terms of respect, duty, approach and 'doing what we were told to do' without question. Younger men who served in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, found it more difficult; they came from a different societal approach in terms of their perception of equal rights, an (un)willingness to comply with some of the expected mores of officership such as civilian codes of dress, deference to seniors outside of the work place and a more relaxed approach to authority which they felt uncomfortable upholding.

This has considerable implications for Government and other organisations who promote the concept of social mobility and often contextualise it by promising more expenditure on education, and other forms of training and equating equality with economic capital. There is an implication that the more people think they have 'equal rights' the less real opportunities for social mobility they have. Neo-liberalism can actually be a constraint, the lack of desire to impose concepts of duty, respect and adherence to a set of behavioural norms for the desired 'rank' in society can create a glass ceiling through which the underdog cannot rise.

The Spouse and Family

Goldthorpe (1980 p.149) noted that 'virtually all studies of mobility and kinship ...have related to highly localised samples, drawn from a single town [or] suburb'. This research offered an opportunity to study social mobility within the framework of a wide and unrelated group of individuals. Participants came from across the United Kingdom and from

⁹¹ A recent example of this is the report '[Socio-Economic Diversity in Life Sciences and Investment Banking](#)', which reported that people are disadvantaged in the Banking industry if they, for example, wear brown shoes or the 'wrong tie'. '*How well-heeled city types leave you brown and out in finance*' Guardian Newspaper 2nd September 2016.

diverse family types yet there was a common theme of kinship disturbance after promotion.

The support of the Wife, as has been discussed, was of paramount importance. The wife as manager of the home, as co-opted labour and as an officerly accessory was as essential component in the ability of the officer to adapt to and perform his role. The wife also plays an integral role in the Navy field. Janowitz (1960p. 189) observed the integral part in military life that the family play. He argues that 'the military family [is] deeply involved in the transmission of military tradition...one is struck by the way in which women internalized the values of military honour and military ceremony'. This comment indicates that if the wife has an understanding of the role expectations of both herself and her husband and is able to undertake her duties this assists the husband in his career path.

Many officers became estranged from their extended families. This was a cause for regret and it was in this area in particular that the idea of *habitus clivé* was most obvious. Men who felt out of place in the wardroom also found that when going home and visiting parents for example, they felt out of place, as Skeggs (1997b) commented 'you cannot go back'.

Time Spent as a Rating and Age on Promotion

The number of years served on the lower deck before promotion was clearly a factor in the time it took to acclimatise. For those who served as ratings in excess of four years it was more difficult and there was a linear correlation between time before promotion and the degree of feeling out of place. Jenkins (1996 p.85) notes that 'ontological security... relies upon routine and habit', and for officers who had several years of rating practices and behaviours new diurnal and subfield practices had to be observed and learnt. This could take considerable time if rating *habitus* was deeply engrained. There would be much stronger group bonds with the rating corps, and these included identification with rating norms and engrained oppositional approach to officers. As Bourdieu (2000 p.160) recognised, 'in situations of crisis or sudden change...those who best adapted to the previous state of the game, have difficulty in adjusting to the new established order'. For Dave who served over twenty four years before being promoted it took eight years before

he felt like a 'real' officer. For Mark who served twenty one years, acclimatisation never occurred and he left the Navy after serving only three years as an officer.

Officers who had been on the mess decks for upwards of eight years were likely to have held the rate of Petty Officer and above and had therefore experienced the respect that a Senior Rate holds in the Navy. It would have been difficult for them to accept going back to the beginning at the bottom of the officer hierarchy. The younger a rating is on promotion to the officer corps the less this age/rank dilemma will affect the individual. Promotion at an older age can cause a confrontation of doxic norms thus leading to feelings of alienation and hysteresis. In sum, early selection for the officer corps was beneficial:

My transition was probably easier as I was promoted early on. John

Branch

As has been discussed, branch or specialisation could also influence the ability to take on the leadership requirements of naval officership. For some of those who work in specialisations requiring considerable academic and technical skills, their innate dispositions were not aligned with the esoteric and corporeal qualities expected and many found socialising and attendance at functions difficult. The hegemony of the warfare branch may be superseded by a new power structure as new styles of warfare develop. As Moelker (2006 p.386) states 'technology is one of the major factors influencing the changes in the military profession'. As personnel adapt to new forms of warfare there may be an equalling out of specialisation- related variances in subjectivity or as Moelker (p.389) suggests 'technology causes societies to become similar'.

Habitus -The Core of the Matter

All of the above factors played their part in success outcomes and the ability of the individual to adapt to their new environment. However, the most significant influence was the innate sense of 'who you are' and where you fit in. 'Primary identifications of self-hood' (Jenkins, 1996 p.85) are very robust and have a tendency to remain throughout life despite life changing experiences such as promotion. Bourdieu (2000 p.161) suggests that 'habitus change constantly in response to new experiences' and it is seen in this research that men adapted consciously and unconsciously to fit in, the fluidity of habitus allowing them to absorb new dispositions and ways of seeing the world. However there were two ways in which these transformations of habitus created tension and officers experienced a double measure of habitus clivé.

The **first** is the different working fields of the rating and the officer. These fields were so fundamentally different, that to move from one to the other created significant strain. The officer field is deeply entrenched in upper middle class attitudes and behaviours that to enter it from an essentially working class field creates considerable inner conflict.

The **second** area of strain was the feeling of habitus clivé in relationships with families and friends.

Tajfel (1981 p.301) states clearly 'social mobility is the exit of an individual from his group'. Leaving the group can have profound effects on an individual. In the case of the Navy these effects are magnified considerably. Naval ratings not only work together, they share all aspects of their lives. They are trained to be a cohesive unit and live within highly structured and defined parameters. Within the rating corps there is a clear demarcation between junior rates and senior rates but this is incomparable with the mandated and highly visible differences between ratings and officers.

Goldthorpe (1980 p.199) found that upwardly mobile individuals often prepared the way by forming relationships with members of their new destination group and many ratings did this through sport and other activities. Yet despite this they felt out of place in the ward room. The reality of joining the wardroom - a separate space with a material and social

culture very different from the mess decks, was intimidating and unfamiliar even for the most confident. As has been seen considerable 'acting' skills were required to undertake the officer role. Promoted officers utilised a range of performance techniques to negotiate their newly established officership. However there are strains being on stage constantly and having to occasionally engage in activities that were anathema to their innate dispositions such as cocktail parties and wardroom dinners.

The wearing of uniform and the 'signals and symbols' of status did however help. By utilising these props officers were able to 'hide behind' their uniform; gold braid, cap, sword and corporeal responses such as being saluted, these signifiers 'generate a sense of shared belonging' (Jenkins, 1996 p.135) which eases the cultural transition. Saluting as a mandated practice, forced them into accepting the deference of others and normalised their officer routine once the initial awkwardness was overcome. Officers possessing high levels of academic and technical competency were able to take comfort in the milieu of their branch – particularly engineers who were very aware of their vital role in naval operations.

It was not so easy with kinship relations. Although the majority of men who were married at the time of promotion expressed extreme gratitude for their wives, the journey to officership was fraught for both husband and wife (and at times for children). Having to relocate physically and psychologically took its toll and it was too much for those whose marriages didn't survive.

Relationships with extended family underwent disruption. Without the props of rank and the regulatory interactions in the work place, negotiating parental and other family relationships created considerable feelings of alienation and loss. Many officers felt distanced from family, even those still in contact. The understanding that they had moved on whilst leaving family behind was common and for many 'there was nothing to say' when they did meet.

Friendships with previous messmates invariably ended. The expectation of distance between rating and officer meant that it was impossible to continue friendships easily and for those who 'gravitated back towards the mess decks' there was the embarrassment of being told not to do so. The individualism of officer relations did not offer the same camaraderie and genuine friendships of those found on the mess decks. As Jervis (2011p.150) observes; 'sociability is not the same as mutual support'. Loss of friends

creates considerable unhappiness, as Hyman (2014 p.18) posits 'happiness is inextricably bound up with the way in which people make sense of their selves and identities'. Losing family and friends forces an individual to renegotiate their perception of self.

The Strength of Habitus

It is significant that despite approximately one third of the officer corps coming from the lower decks during the research period, the gentlemanly ideal continued to be heavily entrenched in the officer habitus. It might reasonably be assumed that the wardroom would absorb some of the social and cultural influences of those promoted from the lower decks and there would be a degree of cultural dilution. Yet this does not seem to have been the case, and the strength of the dominant culture ensures that less prestigious cultural influences are eradicated and that promoted men who had 'gone before them' had to a degree absorbed so much of their new environment that they became part of the establishment. The desire to do this is illustrated by Tony and Jim:

I read everything I could get my hands on. I read in the evenings and lunch time. I wanted to be acquainted with high culture. I wanted to be culturally immersed. Tony

Listening to their conversation gave my own education a polish, and I copied them. (Tim)

The pressure to perform as a real officer was immense. However, as Sennett & Cobb (1972 p.140) suggest by legitimating your position in society and your view of yourself, you have to sacrifice something. For promoted officers- the hours spent studying, losing friends, stress, psychological imbalance, alienation, habitus clivé – all were sacrifices to the officer ideal. Tajfel (1981 p.298) summarises this, arguing 'the extreme social mobility paradigm...involves effort, hard work, luck [and] heartbreak'.

It was almost impossible for some to keep up appearances as they fought against the 'strong resilience of social patterns' that constitute habitus (Silva 2016). This is because, as Goffman (1959 p.60) asserts, if there is 'insufficient dramaturgical direction' the performance may suffer. Woodward (2002 p.75) maintains that it is 'often in the minutiae of daily life that the most wide reaching differences of identity are represented... symbolic systems are implicated in the process of constructing meaning about who we are' (p.76). The officers did not only pass exams but absorbed and reconditioned themselves to the

officer world. Uniform and gold braid - what Sennett & Cobb (1973 p.55) call 'badges of ability', demonstrate to the outside world and in this case the naval world, where you stand in the hierarchy. They tell others how worthy you are. The reasons for promotion were varied and many of the participants talked about a 'sense of destiny'. Cooley (1902 p.295) recognised the indeterminate nature of social mobility. He argued that 'personal ascendancy is not necessarily dependent upon any palpable deed in which power is manifested... there is a conviction of power and an expectation of success that go before the deed and control the minds of men without reason'. More importantly Cooley understood that destiny is not 'confined to any class'. The men above undertook the route to promotion for many different reasons despite the difficulties that not only lay ahead but those they had left behind, some of which had been considerable.

The officers had 'something intersubjectively in common' Jenkins (1996 p.102) so for whatever reason the promotion was considered, there was a commonality of aim and purpose. There was a clear and profound understanding of the exclusive nature of naval officership, not just a personal interpretation but an understanding that 'the world' recognised it as a high status occupation. According to Cooley (1902 p.216), 'the self that is most importunate is a reflection, largely from the minds of others'. As Sennett & Cobb (1973 p.75) note, the individual is 'subject to a scheme of values that tells him he must validate [him] self in order to win other's respect and his own'. There was awareness of the difficulties that lay ahead as expressed by Les:

Both my wife and I agonised over the consequences of promotion for quite some time as it represented a different lifestyle. But we both agreed to give it a try.

As they took on the 'grand signifiers' (Woodward 2002 p.76) of rank such as uniform and saluting, at the same time they consciously and unconsciously picked up the smaller indicators of being a real officer. Promoted officers absorbed physical characteristics of their new rank realising -at least implicitly- that 'different groups and classes cultivate different types of body' Bennett et al (2009 p.154). So if they wanted to be part of the officer group there was an expectation of 'behavioural conformity' (Bennett et al 2009 p.154). Tastes in pastimes, sports, clothing and food altered as the officers integrated new consumption patterns into their world. Dillon (2014 p. 445) remarks that 'taste reveals our social class conditioning... it reproduces and extends the social class conditioning', and new

officers-if they were to succeed- were conditioned to appreciate the symbols of officership such as appreciation of good wine.

As Collins (2005 p.359) suggests autodidacts operate 'far from the regular transmission networks of the field's cultural capital' and this is shown when promoted officers gave away their real selves. Whilst the parvenu may feel they have consumer goods and other expressions of economic capital, the 'real' indicators of 'class' are revealed in more subtle and nuanced forms. For Woodward (2002 p.50) 'our identities are made up and... represented by the consumer goods we buy'. Constrained by the pressures of the field, newly promoted officer's felt that had to acquire 'taste'. However as Stewart (2013 p.57) comments 'expressions of taste ...mark out the boundaries that separate a social grouping from those fractionally below them in social space' and as a consequence 'real' officers are able to validate their worthiness of rank through subtle displays of good taste.

In this study, of all indicators of class, language was the most significant. Bourdieu (1991 p.83) suggested that there is an 'unhappy relation[ship]' between the petit bourgeois and their pronunciation and that they have a 'keen sensitivity to the tension of the market'. As Labov (2006) discovered there is temptation for this group to hyper-correct and thus not meeting the requirements of linguistic competence. As a result 'insecurity [gives way to] a state of paroxysm' (Bourdieu 1992 p.82) and the arriviste is marked as a cultural imposter.

The younger officers served in an era when the links between class and taste were uncertain. Whilst new officers attempted to express their commissioned rank with overt displays such as the purchase of flashy new cars, such attempts at betterment were misconceived. At the same time, the upper and middle classes are in a strong position to appropriate some working and lower middle class habits such as the use of estuary English⁹² or the wearing of casual clothes or attending football matches , thus highlighting their capabilities and the extent of their resources (Skeggs, 2004).

⁹² See for example; 'Parlez-vous prole? Why the upper classes use mockney accents', Betts (2015) Daily Telegraph 29th May 2015.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/prince-william/11638361/Parlez-vous-prole-Why-the-upper-classes-use-mockney-accents.html>

My data demonstrates that there were several sites of resistance but none of them actually presented a real challenge to the power structure of the Navy as a whole. For example, retaining a regional accent, being courteous to stewards, playing football and even occasionally going to the senior rates pantry to eat baked beans, none of these rebellious behaviours were ever truly mutinous. The Navy field as a whole is strong enough to disregard these minor contraventions of officership. There is an extremely strong collective consciousness that believes in the institution and every single participant was proud to have served as both a rating and an officer, even those who had had very difficult experiences. It was this collective consciousness and pride that enabled this research to be carried out as men volunteered to participate and tell their stories.

Areas for further research

There were some aspects of this research that have not been given full attention and thus provide incentive for further study. These include the following:

1. The integration of WRENS into the Royal Navy in 1993

Having a fully integrated service has altered the dynamics of naval life. It would be interesting to investigate how this has changed particularly in relation to the gendered response to promotion. The 'deviant' nature of the mess decks has to some degree changed since women were allowed to serve at sea (in 1993) with a new type of rating and women on board. One participant described how relieved he was when women joined his ship as it made it less hostile and aggressive. There is considerable scope to investigate some of the sociological responses to WRNS being subsumed into the Navy. As one interviewee said about women: 'they go through their own identity crisis'.

2. The deregulation of rules on homosexuality in the Navy

It was not possible to study whether naval cultural, social and spousal expectations differed in any way for gay men as homosexuality would have been against regulations during the period researched. In January 2000 the Government lifted the ban on gay men and women serving in the armed services. The Royal Navy have fully participated in Stonewall's Diversity Championship programme since 2005 and gay naval families have the same rights and expectations as all other families. Further research may be undertaken to see how such families negotiate their naval lives.

3. Changes in technology.

As many rating jobs in the navy become more technical and require different skills to those needed for more traditional specialisations such as the definitive general seaman, there may be what McSorley(2013 p.8) suggests is a 'significant transformation in the imagination of martial presence'.

New methods of warfare such as cyber warfare and non-nation-state adversaries such as terrorist organisations make traditional military operational styles become more obsolete. Requirements for extremely highly skilled individuals in IT and electronics will mean that the traditional officer ideal may have to be replaced by officerly requirements more aligned with the systems analyst or computer engineer. This combined with the current obsession with accountability and bureaucracy or in current naval parlance – processes, may reduce the naval officer to the ‘service class’ or a new style of petit bourgeoisie. (Although these arguments are negated by the fact that the ship or submarine still has to be physically moved and operated and this ensures that there is still a degree of practical skill requirements.)

4. Why do some senior rates choose to not go for promotion?

During the course of the research it became clear that some highly competent men decided to not go for promotion and preferred to stay as Senior Rates. This offers a fruitful area for further investigation.

There are many other areas of possible research that have come to light during this investigation and it is hoped that I may be able to address some of them in the near future.

Final Words

Putt (1943 p.56) 'the old question of whether an officer promoted from the ranks can ever inspire the same respect as an officer born... to the gold, was in my experience as a seaman, one that never arose'.

'You have to discriminate against the wankers, it doesn't depend on class it depends how good you are '. Tim

'Some officers are just a bunch of idiots, sometimes I used to think 'God he's in charge of the nuclear deterrent'... he knew how to use the right cutlery but had no common-sense. It was worrying. Mike

Appendix 1

Are YOU a retired Royal Navy Officer who was promoted from the lower deck?

If you are a retired officer who was promoted from the lower deck I would like to invite you to participate in my research which is being undertaken at the University of Portsmouth.

The purpose of the study is to investigate how Royal Navy officers promoted from the lower deck managed the transition from rating to officer. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many officers promoted from the lower deck found the transition to be a complex shift. For example some officers found their friendships with their rating friends changed or that the culture of the wardroom was alienating or different than expected. Maybe you felt that you had to behave differently once you were an officer or felt that other people saw you in a different way?

These feelings extend to wives and partners and in some cases to children of promoted officers who have to adapt. The study is to investigate the reality of these stories and to hear about officers and their family's personal experiences. It is hoped that by looking at officers individual experiences it may give those officers a voice and may encourage and give guidance to future officers.

If you would like to take part please contact me and I will send you a brief questionnaire about your progress in the Royal Navy.

You will then be asked to participate in a group interview with other officers so that you can share your experiences and elicit further memories and comments about your response to promotion.

After the group interview you may be asked to an individual interview. Interviews will last for approximately one hour and can be held in a mutually agreed place anywhere in the UK.

The interview will be quite informal and will enable you to reflect on your own experience. If you would like to bring photographs, diary entries and any other material you would like to show me that will help to illustrate your career in the navy that would be welcome.

As the success of a military career is often dependent on how the whole family cope with military life, you may have a partner or spouse who might like to be involved in a group or individual interview for spouses. Please inform anyone who you think may want to be included in my research. I look forward to hearing from you. Please contact me if you would like to know more.

I would also like to hear from retired senior rates who chose not to apply for a commission.

Researcher : Sue Redmond MA
School of Social, Historical and Literary Studies
University of Portsmouth

Email : sue.redmond@port.ac.uk Phone: 07502 959 388

Appendix 2

Participants Year of Entry into Royal Navy and Parent's Occupations

Name	Year of Entry into RN	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation
Paul	1954	Delivery Driver	Housewife
Barry	1972	Decorator	Shop Assistant
Ray	1974	Army NCO	Nurse
Simon	1962	Tool fitter	Kitchen Assistant
Eric	1984	Tool machinist	Cleaner
Fred	1965	Undertaker	Housewife
Giles	1939	Accountant	Housewife
Harry	1962	Steel Worker	Housewife
Ian	1957	Civil Servant	Housewife
Wayne	1958	Landlord	Landlady
Liam	1964	Saddle Maker	Caterer
Kit	1955	RM NCO Died WW2	Civil Servant
Bernard	1934	RN NCO	Housewife
Rob	1970	Nurse	Cleaner
Dai	1949	RN Lt	Unknown
Frances	1965	Porter	Cleaner
Rory	1961	Cabinet Maker	Care Assistant
Stan	1946	Invalid	Cook
Tim	1959	Garage Owner	Sign Language Interpreter
Vic	1952	Accounts Clerk	Housewife
Alan	1959	Carpenter	Typist
Tony	1883	Car Mechanic	Hairdresser
Sol	1963	Lorry Driver	Housekeeper
Bob	1979	RN Rating	Housewife
George	1956	Grocer	Housewife
Brad	1960	Printer	Housewife
Mitch	1952	Bus Driver	Housewife
Walker	1980	RN NCO	Housewife
Vincent	1948	Gas Engineer	Housewife
Gerry	1979	Salesman	Housewife
Mike	1970	Shoemaker	Housewife
Lionel	1956	Cobbler/ Stepfather Miner	Housewife
Charlie	1981	Docker	Classroom Assistant
Scott	1963	Church Minister	Secretary
Mark	1987	Engraver	Secretary
Gary	1946	Cinema Projectionist	Housewife
James	1956	Dairy Owner	Teacher
Mac	1976	Miner	Housewife
Reece	1961	Farmer	Housewife
Sam	1965	Manual Worker	Mill Girl

Nicholas	1951	Fireman	School House Mother
John	1975	Civil Engineer	Teacher
Chris	1969	Builder	Clerk
Jack	1979	Bread Van Salesman	Glovemaker
Will	1968	Builder	Nurse
Johnny	1951	Sales Manager	Housewife
Steve	1971	Shoemaker	Housewife
Len	1964	Barber	Housewife
Bruce	1961	Football Executive	Housewife
Neil	1967	Carpenter	Housewife
Monty	1981	Builder	Housewife
Jeff	1946	Plasterer	Machinist
Dick	1973	Prison Officer	Secretary
Chuck	1966	Painter	Hairdresser
Les	1972	RM NCO	WREN
Claude	1970	Contracts Director	Housewife
Keith	1968	Lorry Driver	Typist
Fergus	1959	Unknown	Unknown
Duncan	1955	Army Regular	Housewife
Finn	1977	Engineer	Housewife
Kev	1960	Railman	Died
Gordon	1954	RN NCO	Civil Servant
Henry	1952	Site Manager	Child Carer
Trevor	1963	Teacher	Housewife
Hugh	1987	RN NCO	Clerk
Sid	1964	Mechanic	Teacher
Harrison	1951	Sales Manager	Bilingual secretary
Michael	1948	Bricklayer	seasonal farmworker
Connor	1948	Unknown	Unknown
Dave	1972	RN NCO	Housewife

NCO – Non Commissioned Officer

RN – Royal Navy

RM –Royal Marines

Appendix 3

Participants Branch, Qualifications on Entry, Years Served Before Promotion and

Rate achieved.

Name	Branch	Qualifications On Entry	Years Served before Promotion	Rate on Promotion
Paul	Engineer	Nil	16	CPO
Barry	Engineer	2 O levels	17	CPO
Ray	Weapons	7 O levels	11	CPO
Simon	Supply	A levels	17	CPO
Eric	Supply	5 O levels	11	PO
Fred	Weapons	4 GCSE	14	CPO
Giles	General service	5 O levels	8	PO
Harry	Communications	Nil	18	Master at Arms ⁹³
Ian	Seaman	Nil	4	L/H
Wayne	Engineer	Nil	18	CPO
Liam	Sonar	Nil	12	PO
Kit	Writer	Nil	16	PO
Bernard	Seaman	Nil	6	PO
Rob	Medical/Supply	Nil	4.5	A/B
Dai	Engineer	5 O levels	16	CPO
Frances	Fleet Air Arm	Nil	7	PO
Rory	Weapons	6 O levels	14	CPO
Stan	Marines	Nil	15	Colour Sgt ⁹⁴
Tim	Engineer	Nil	12	CPO
Vic	Gunnery	5 O levels	11	PO
Alan	Stores	Nil	13	CPO
Tony	Weapons	1 O level	17	CPO
Sol	Seaman	CSE	4.5	L/H
Bob	Stores	Nil	12	PO
George	Engineer	2 O levels	11	CPO
Brad	Supply	4 O levels	4	A/B
Mitch	Radio- Artificer	3 O levels	11	CPO
Walker	Seaman	8 O levels	4	L/S
Vincent	Seaman	5 O levels	4	L/S
Gerry	Seaman	Matric Cert	9	PO
Mike	Warfare	5 O levels	8	PO
Lionel	Seaman	Nil	11	PO
Charlie	Engineer	2 O levels	*	CPO
Scott	Fleet Air Arm	Nil	4	L/H

⁹³ Master at Arms is equivalent to CPO.

⁹⁴ Colour Sergeant is the Royal Marines equivalent to CPO, this man transferred into the Royal Navy from the Royal Marines on being commissioned.

Mark	Warfare	2 O levels	21	W/O
Gary	Supply	Nil	10	PO
James	Fleet Air Arm	Nil	6	L/H
Mac	Weapons	6 O levels	9	PO
Reece	Engineer	Nil	16	CPO
Sam	Medical	Nil	7.5	PO
Nicholas	Electrical	6 O levels	12.3	CPO
John	Warfare	Nil	3	L/H
Chris	Seaman	O levels	5	L/H
Jack	Supply	Nil	2.7	A/B
Will	Weapons	O levels	14	CPO
Johnny	Supply	Nil	4	L/H
Steve	Radio	CSE	13	CPO
Len	Stores	Nil	12	CPO
Bruce	Seaman	Nil	5	L/H
Neil	Supply	1 O level	18	CPO
Monty	Stores	5 CSE	17	CPO
Jeff	Seaman	Nil	13	CPO
Dick	Supply	Nil	8	L/H
Chuck	Weapons	7 O levels	3	A/B
Les	Weapons	Nil	13.5	CPO
Claude	Warfare	2 O levels	1	O/S
Keith	Engineer	A Levels	18.6	CPO
Fergus	Seaman	Nil	9	PO
Duncan	Sonar	Nil	14	PO
Finn	Seaman	Nil	2	A/B
Kev	Fleet Air Arm	A Levels	6.5	PO
Gordon	Supply	6 O levels	6	L/H
Henry	Supply	7 O levels	*	PO
Trevor	Seaman	2 O levels	14	CPO
Hugh	Electronic Warfare	Nil	19	CPO
Sid	Weapons	A levels	10.8	CPO
Harrison	Seaman	5 O levels	3	L/H
Michael	Communications	5 School Cert's	10	CPO
Connor	Seaman	Nil	7	PO
Dave	Supply	Nil	24	CPO

* Information not supplied.

Rate on promotion is as stated by participants.

Branch is as stated by the participant. There may be some anomalies in terminology where participants have described their specialisation. It was considered important to use job definitions as defined by participants as this was how they identified themselves on joining the Royal Navy.

Appendix 4

The Insignia of Rate and Rank in the Royal Navy



Please note: Able Rates of the period researched wore no rank identification

Source: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/27/62/a7/2762a78fdf97db2603fc8b43ba9012b4.jpg>

Appendix 5

Interview Schedule

Introduction/Thanks for participating/ brief overview of the aims of the project.

Everything is confidential and names will be anonymised. Anything you do not wish to answer then please say so.

Identity on joining the Navy

- Please explain when, how and why you joined the Navy
- How would you describe your education/social class/ family background on joining?
- Why did you choose the branch/specialisation?
- What were your views of the rating training establishment you entered (e.g. HMS Raleigh)
- Did you ever consider/think you would become an officer?
- Did you notice any differences between ratings and officers? – How did you view officers?

Promotion Process

- What triggered the road to officership?
- Describe your route to officership
- How did you negotiate the exams and other criteria for candidature?
- Was there any single person or people who helped you through the process?
- If you were married was it a joint decision with your wife?
- Did you (and your wife) think about any of the personal changes that may lay ahead?
- Did you do anything to 'play the game'? for example sports/drama/networking etc
- On passing the AIB did you have any second thoughts?

Officer Life

- When you made the journey to Dartmouth how did you feel? What were your first impressions of Dartmouth?
- Discuss your experience of the knife & fork course- did you mind being told how to eat/behave etc.?
- How did you find adapting to your new position in the Navy?
- Did you ever come across any difficulties in your own ability to adapt or with any other people?
- What are your observations of the difference between officers and ratings?
- Did you think your branch/specialisation was influential in the way you adjusted to officership?

Appendix 5 Continued

Family

- Had you lived in married quarters? Did you have to move house – discuss any changes you had to make to your lifestyle
- Had your wife gone to work? Did her life change after promotion?
- Did your relationship with other family members/friends change after promotion?
- Some people suggest that wives 'shadow stripe' their husbands, do you have any views on this?

Other topics:

Were any other members of your family in the Navy?

Would you agree that being in the Navy is all encompassing for the individual and his family?

I am particularly interested in the social/cultural and other differences you may have observed – would you like to discuss any of these differences?

Food/Drink

Accent/language

Clothes/hair/shoes etc

Stewards

Do you think that you 'performed' the role of officer?

Did you ever use props to support your role?

Do you think you were influenced by the portrayal of RN officers in films and culture?

How long did it take you to get used to being an officer?

Do you think it was an advantage to have been a rating first?

Do you think the classed differences still exist?

Would you say that you have changed as a person?

The Navy is a very good educator but do you think there is anything else they can do to help officers promoted from the ratings corps?

How do you see yourself now – at the end of your career? Officer/Rating/social class?

If you could go out tonight would you rather go to a senior rates mess or a ward room?

Do you have any comments on the tools you need as a person to be socially mobile?

Appendix 6

Rules for Saluting from the Naval Ratings Handbook B.R 1938 (1975)

CHAPTER 5

Saluting, Ceremonial and Kit

SALUTING

See B.R. 1834, *Royal Naval Handbook of Ceremonial and Drill*

The personal salute of officers and men of the Royal Navy in its present form is of comparatively recent origin, having been introduced in 1890 to conform with the practice of the Army. The original method of saluting in the Royal Navy was to uncover the head, both when making the salute and acknowledging it, and amongst officers this was accompanied on ceremonial occasions by a bow. On board ship where many men did not wear hats, the recognized salute was to go through the motions of removing one's headgear, or just to touch the forehead, this salute being acknowledged in a similar manner. The original salute of removing the cap is still retained on certain occasions, and this manner of saluting is a custom which we honour as one of the traditions of our Service.

Why we salute

Generally speaking, we salute persons, flags and places in recognition of the Sovereign and her Government's authority which may be vested in them, or for traditional reasons, e.g. the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London. It is also an act of greeting. Saluting is the outward sign of good manners and respect.

You are to salute:

1. Her Majesty and all Members of the Royal Family.
2. Heads of foreign States and Members of reigning Royal Families.
3. Whenever the National Anthem or any Commonwealth or foreign National Anthem is played within hearing.
4. During the ceremonies of 'Colours' (when the ensign is hoisted) and 'Sunset' (when it is hauled down).
5. When boarding or leaving any of H.M. ships or foreign men-of-war. This is a salute to the ship and her company and is given irrespective of the place or means of entry or departure, e.g. the gangway and jackstay.
6. When coming on to the Quarterdeck of a ship or establishment.
7. When passing or being passed by a party of any country's fighting Services with uncased Standards or Colours, or when the White Ensign is paraded on shore.
8. When passing or being passed by the coffin in a funeral procession.
9. When passing the Cenotaph, in Whitehall, London.
10. When meeting or passing any officer of any of the fighting Services of any country.

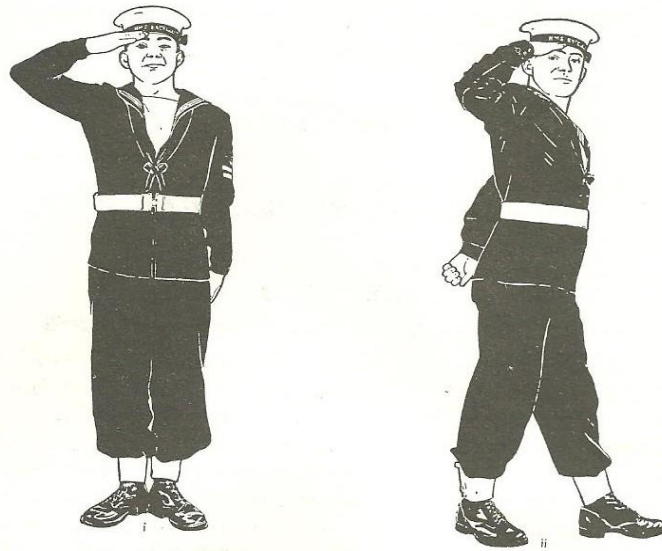


FIG. 5-1. The hand salute: (i) to the front, (ii) to the right

11. When passing or being passed by a car flying a distinguishing flag or 'starred' plate.
12. When approaching to report to, or be addressed by, an officer and when taking leave of him.
13. When meeting or passing an officer whom you know and who is wearing plain clothes.
14. When greeting relatives, civilians or guests on formal and social occasions.

Salutes are to be given at any time when it is sufficiently light to discern the person saluted.

How to salute

1. *When in uniform and wearing a cap* give the hand salute. The correct attitude is shown in Fig. 5-1. When saluting, always look the other person straight in the eyes.
2. *When in uniform with both hands occupied, or your right hand is injured*, stand to attention and face in the required direction: or if on the move, turn the head and eyes smartly in the required direction, but do not pin your arms to your sides. When your hands are both occupied put the load down, if possible; otherwise salute as just described.
3. *When in plain clothes and wearing a hat*, raise your hat.
4. *When in plain clothes without a hat* use the hand salute when proceeding onboard or ashore from H.M. ships and in Naval bases and establishments.
5. When in sports rig and wearing a cap, salute as in 1.
6. When in sports rig without a cap, salute as in 4.

Appendix 7

Peter Brooks, Daily Telegraph 8th December 2016. This article was written following the decommission and sale for breakage of the Aircraft Carrier HMS Illustrious. It illustrates the depth of feeling for the ship as a subfield, the recreative processes of sailor habitus and the collective consciousness that transcends rank in the Royal Navy.

For sailors, our warships become part of us

The final voyage of HMS 'Lusty' is a sad event for all those who made the ship – and were made by her

PETER ROBERTS



As HMS Illustrious departed Portsmouth yesterday for a breaker's yard in Turkey, even hardened sailors felt real grief. Having dined on board with Captain Mike Utley and his officers some years ago, I could understand that. The relationship between matelots (sailors) and their ship is a special feeling that never dies.

When warships deploy, sailors often do not know where they will end up or what mission they will end up performing – delivering aid to communities devastated by natural disasters, deterring aggressive states in far-flung seas, or going to war where shipmates will die. The world has a habit of changing quickly and events rarely allow ships to return

home to make additional preparations. Ships sail ready for almost every contingency, as do the sailors in them. Those matelots also embark on these deployments together. No one is a spectator – no one stays back on an airfield, or commands from a bunker miles away from the action.

The naval ethos is: "All of one company." Every sailor accepts the same level of danger, the same highs and lows, and the same separation for months at a time. The bond between the people on board is based on trust: that your "oppo" will protect you when needed, fight alongside you when called upon and share in your troubles and woes. When you are thousands of miles from a friendly port, there is no fire brigade to fight a fire, no repairman to fix the engine, and no one else to protect you from enemies. Everyone in the ship runs out of milk and fresh food (or loo roll) at the same time.

Lusty was a special kind of home and place of work, but without those things that we usually associate with such environments. No space for ornaments, gadgets, double beds or even a large wardrobe – warships are designed around function and equipment: crew quarters are one of the last elements squeezed into any vessel. That can feel claustrophobic, but at the same time

allows a focus on what is absolutely necessary. Sailors understand that what they really need are human qualities not physical objects: comradeship, humour, resilience and grit.

Ships' companies pride themselves on finding no task too great or too difficult. Whether rescuing fellow seafarers from the oceans in Force 12 gales, hosting world leaders for peace talks, or evacuating British citizens, captains are able to drive their people with a single purpose, and to change that purpose at a moment's notice.

This flexibility and agility is one reason why national leaders often have a real affinity with aircraft carriers. Many of these tasks are performed by the Royal Navy ships out of the public eye, but when a carrier is called upon, it sends a very public message – not to allies, but to adversaries. Successful prime ministers called for Lusty, and her sister-ships from the Invincible class, more than others.

Unusually, Lusty was commissioned at sea en route to the Falkland Islands in 1982. She spent much of the Nineties in the Adriatic Sea off the former republic of Yugoslavia, and later enforcing the no-fly zone in Iraq. In 2000, she was the linchpin for military operations in Sierra Leone, inserting Special Forces

two years later into Afghanistan. By 2006, she was evacuating civilians from Lebanon and came to the public eye again in 2014 delivering aid after a hurricane in the Philippines.

Those who served in Lusty might recall some of these operations, but it is more likely that they will remember the people they served with. The landing of a damaged "convertible", jump-jet by Lieutenant Commander Jack London in 1998 will have been a defining moment in Lusty's history for many, but the identity of the crew is more than any single event.

Neither is it as simple as the people making the ship. For many, the ship also made the people. The sense of loss that many sailors felt yesterday was because they recognised how fundamental Lusty was to their own sense of identity. The next generation of sailors will undoubtedly feel a similar bond with the Royal Navy's new carrier, HMS Queen Elizabeth. We can only hope that the next generation of the British public can feel a similar sense that the new ship is part of the nation's identity, as we did with Lusty.

Peter Roberts of the Royal United Services Institute retired from the Royal Navy in 2013

Appendix 8

Ethics Approval Document



Sue Redmond
PhD Student
SSHLS
University of Portsmouth

REC reference number: 13/14:14
Please quote this number on all correspondence.

10th June 2014

Dear Sue,

Full Title of Study: Perceptions of Self and Identity in Royal Navy officers promoted from the Lower Deck

Documents reviewed:

Consent Form
Invitation Letter
Participant Information Sheet
Protocol
Questionnaire

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

I am pleased to tell you that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee.

The Ethics Committee does expect, however, that if the researcher at any point intends to have participants under 18 years of age that she will address explicitly the ethical challenges posed by this group.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair
Jane Winstone

Members participating in the review:

- David Carpenter
- Sukh Hamilton
- Richard Hitchcock
- Geoff Wade
- Jane Winstone

Appendix 9

Letter of Invitation to Participate in Project

Invitation to Participate in Research Project

School of Social, Historical and Literary Studies
Milldam Building
Burnaby Road
Portsmouth PO1 3AS

sue.redmond@port.ac.uk



Study Title: Perceptions of Self and Identity in Royal Navy Officers promoted from the Lower deck 1960-1993.

REC Ref No:13/14:14.....

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am writing to you as a member of the Retired Naval Officers Association or the Royal Naval Association or a member of the naval community, or because a colleague or friend of yours has suggested that you might be interested in my research.

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project that I am undertaking. As someone who has served in the merchant navy and worked closely with the Royal Navy for many years I have become very interested in the social structure of the Royal Navy. Anecdotal evidence gained over many years of discussion in wardrooms and messes has indicated that many officers promoted from the lower deck have found the transition a complex experience.

My research is to investigate how promoted officers negotiate their new role in the Royal Navy. The research will also consider the response of officer's family members to the promotion, for example how the expectation of the role of a husband, wife or partner may change.

I would appreciate your participation and, if you consent to being involved, look forward to hearing about your experiences as I am trying to build up a picture of the complex issues associated with promotion in the Royal Navy and what the navy could do to further enhance social mobility (which they have endeavoured to do in recent years).

Of course, participation in this research is voluntary and if you accept this invitation but wish to withdraw at any time that is fine. I will appreciate any contribution that you can make will as I hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of promotion in the work place, specifically in the unique circumstances of the Royal Navy.

Please contact me if you would like to take part and be interviewed. Interviews are likely to last approximately one hour. Please ask if you require further details about the research.

Appendix 10

Call for Participants



Call for Participants

Research is being carried out on Royal Navy Officers promoted from the Lower Deck

Are you a retired Royal Navy Officer who was promoted from the lower deck?

If the answer is yes, would you like to participate in the research?

Initially you would complete a simple questionnaire and then if you would like to participate further be interviewed about your experiences. You may also be invited to join a group discussion.

I am investigating the response of officers promoted from the lower deck from the perspective of self-identity. For example; did your promotion alter your relationship with your shipmates or your family? Did you feel alienated in the ward room at first or did you settle in immediately? How did becoming an officer change your view of yourself/of others?

I would also like to hear from the **spouses of promoted officers** and any retired **ratings who could have been promoted to officer but chose not apply.**

If you would like to participate or would like further details please contact the researcher below.

Name: Sue Redmond MA

Email: sue.redmond@port.ac.uk Phone: 07502 959388

Appendix 11



Questionnaire for spouse

Rank of husband on marriage _____

Occupation of respondent _____

Occupation of Parents Mother _____ Father _____

Hometown _____

Ethnic Origin _____

Did you live in married quarters? _____

Did you support your husband's application for promotion to officer?

Were there children in the family at the time of promotion?
Yes/No (If yes please state ages _____)

How did your husband's promotion affect you and your children (if you had any at the time)? _____

Was the transition from being a ratings wife to an officer's wife in any way notable?

Appendix 12

Questionnaire for Promoted Officer



Questionnaire for Officers promoted from the lower deck

Please answer the following questions;

Year of Entry into the Royal Navy _____

Age on Entry _____

Ethnic Origin _____

Qualifications on entry (for example; O levels, GCSE) _____

Parent's occupations Mother _____ Father _____

Place of residency on entry (hometown) _____

Branch served in _____

Length of service before promotion to officer _____

Age on Promotion _____

Rank reached before promotion to officer _____

Reason for applying for promotion to officer _____

Marital status and family composition on promotion Married/Single No of Children____

Time served as an officer _____

Rank on leaving the Navy _____

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, leaving small margins at the top and bottom. There are no vertical margin lines, and the page is completely blank except for the lines themselves.

Appendix 13



Participant Consent Form

School of Social, Historical and Literary
Studies
Milldam Building
Burnaby Road
Portsmouth PO1 3AS

Supervisors– Dr Kay Peggs
02392 84 6093
Dr Laura Hyman
02392 84 6093

Study Title: Perceptions of Self and Identity in Royal Navy Officers promoted from the lower deck

REC Ref No:

Name of Researcher: Sue Redmond MA

Please initial each point

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated **for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these questions answered satisfactorily.

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. -----
2. I agree to my interview being audio recorded -----
3. I agree to being quoted verbatim -----
4. I agree/ do not agree to being a named participant -----
5. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by Individuals from the University of Portsmouth or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data -----

I agree to take part in the above study

Name of Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Person taking consent:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 14

The entry gates of training establishments.



Entrance to HMS Raleigh, the training establishment for Junior Rates



Entrance to Britannia Royal Naval College, training establishment for Officers.

Participating Wives**Jean**

Married Tim when she was seventeen and they moved into married quarters soon after. They had three children and although she went on to get a master's degree she has never been to work due to the constraints of her husband's job. She undertook considerable unpaid co-opted work and played an integral role in one of her husband's postings. She described herself as a 'Navy wife through and through' and was proud to be Mrs 'Captain'.

Lesley

Lesley was married to Mac at the age of eighteen. She has never been able to fulfil her desire to be 'someone that achieved something' although she did achieve bringing up two children and running the house whilst her husband pursued his career. Since her husband left the Navy she has taken an Open University degree.

Josie

Josie married Barry when she was nineteen and they had two children. When her husband became an officer they brought their own home which she regretted immediately as she missed her friends on the patch. She is a part time clerk.

Marie

Marie married Rory when she was twenty. She met him when he was on a run ashore in Bangkok. As a Thai national she has always felt alienated from the other wives although she said it was much easier when she was an officer's wife. They had three children, one is an officer in the Navy.

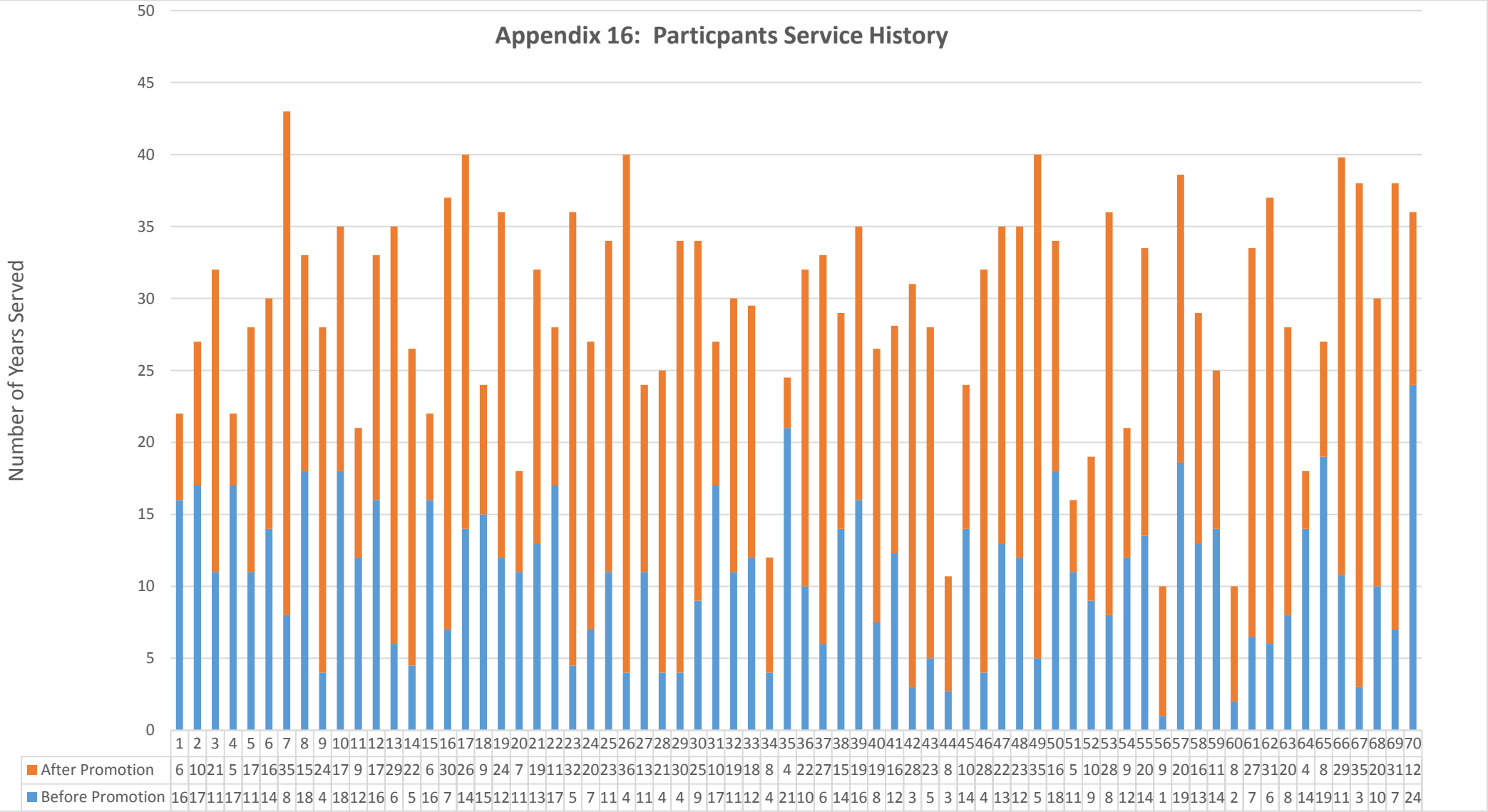
Vicky

Vicky married Steve when she was eighteen so that they could get a married quarters and live away from their parents. She loved living on the patch and was depressed he was promoted to officer and they had to move to a different house. She says that has never been comfortable at wardroom functions.

Sally

Sally is married to Tony. They have three children and she works part time in as a receptionist. The birth of their third child occurred whilst Tony was doing his officers training at BRNC and he was allowed home for the weekend.

All of the wives acknowledged that when they married their husbands they had married the Navy.



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Zurcher, L.A (1965) 'The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behaviour in a Total Institution' *Social Forces*. Vol.43 (3):389-400. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.2307/2574769

For information on Welfare and Family support and the Hive see:

www.royalnavy.mod.uk/Community/Royal-Navy-Community/HIVE

www.royalnavy.mod.uk/welfare/welfare-teams

Recruitment for Ratings and Officers

<http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/madeintheroyalnavy> (recruitment)

www.royalnavy.mod.uk/~media/files/cnr-pdfs/16%200058%20cnr%20aib%20guide%20final.pdf (details of current Admiralty Interview Board)

United States Navy site with useful advice to spouses:

spousebuzz.com/blog/2013/06/navy-wife-with-a-happy-life.html#ixzz3Ysyvlzvb

Film and Television Sources

Television Documentary

Terrill, C (Director) (2014) *Commando: Return to the Front Line*
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Purdie, J (Director) (1976) *Sailor* [Documentary Series]. BBC

Television Series

Briant, M et al (Director) (1973) *Warship Series 1*. BBC

Films

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Asquith, A (Director) (1943) *We Dive at Dawn*. Gaumont British Picture Corporation

Coward, N & Lean, D (Directors) (1942). *In Which We Serve*. Two Cities Films Ltd

Forde, W (Director) (1940) *Sailors Three*. Ealing Studios

Frend, C (Director) (1953) *The Cruel Sea*. Ealing Studios

Gilbert, L (Director) (1967) *You Only Live Twice*. Eon Productions, United Artists

Spottiswoode, R (Director) (1997) *Tomorrow Never Dies*. MGM Distribution Company, United Artists.

Toye, W (Director) (1962) *We Joined the Navy*. Associated British Picture Corporation

